

IN THESE TIMES



VOL. 5, NO. 40

OCTOBER 14-20, 1981

\$1.00

REQUIEM

for a
heavyweight

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on Egypt

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THE INSIDE STORY



Ted Weiss

Confessions of an unrepentant liberal

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

Rep. Theodore Weiss—who represents the same Westside Manhattan district that once sent Bella Abzug to Congress—is perfectly happy about being called a “liberal.” His admirers in the labor movement or the Americans for Democratic Action (from which he annually receives a 100 percent rating) go farther. “He’s a rare liberal,” one AFSCME official said. “He actually cares about what happens.”

I interviewed Weiss last month in his Washington office, the day after House Democrats had met to mull over their defeats and plan for the fall. I wanted to know what relevance he thought liberalism has in the Reagan era.

Some senators, like Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) and Gary Hart (D-Colo.), have been talking about the need for a new liberalism. They think the old brand is outmoded. Do you agree?

Obviously, when you get to specific problems of implementing specific programs, you have to be willing to respond to new problems and correct them, but I am somewhat confused by the thrust of looking for something entirely new and different for liberals. I think that care and concern for economic and social justice ought to be the driving force of the Democratic Party. How you do that becomes almost secondary.

Do you think there is any merit to the arguments that the pursuit of liberalism is now incompatible with economic growth?

If we have regulations that demand more paperwork for no appreciable value, I would cut back on them. That is not the same kind of thing as saying you don’t need regulation on the kinds of medicine that people are going to be purchasing. I think we ought to be encouraging business activity, but that doesn’t mean that you give the country away to the special interests.

What about the supply-side argument that, to encourage growth, business and the wealthy have to be granted special breaks?

I think you can make at least as strong a case—in my judgment, stronger—for saying that the economy is much more vibrant and vital if you allow everybody to have a piece of the action so that they can purchase what is in fact produced by us.

Do you think we’ve entered a new era, where we’ll see a continuation of the Reagan policies for the next eight

This issue (Vol. 5, No. 40) published October 14, 1981, for newsstand sales October 14-20, 1981.

years or even longer?

I don’t want to sound Pollyannish, but the day we adopted the Reagan tax program I made a statement on the floor of the House that Reagan would rue the day of his great tax victory. It seems clear to me that you cannot have the kind of increase in defense expenditures and have anything near the kind of budget deficit he projects if you are also going to cut taxes by vast amounts.

Sooner rather than later the country is going to catch up with Reagan. I think there is going to be a backlash. My concern is that there is going to be a tremendous amount of scapegoating. They’ve started it with Wall Street, but I think it is going to be much more serious than that. I serve on the Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights, and we’ve had hearings on the Freedom of Information Act. The general consensus among liberals and conservatives who have testified is that this is an administration with a great tendency toward a closed society. I just have this terrible sense of foreboding about an accusatory administration that is going to look for people or organizations to blame for their theories having failed.

Have you been satisfied with the House Democrats’ response to Reagan?

No.

You just met to try to work out some strategy and decided not to discipline the Democrats who voted with Reagan. Was that the right decision?

I think that you have to look not just at the Democrats, but also at the Republicans. We’ve always had a hard core of Neanderthal Democrats who believe in very conservative economic and social philosophies, and whether it is 25, 35 or 45, they vote for Reagan’s policies because they believe.

The only way we can maintain effective rather than just numerical control in the House is if those Republicans who are liberal and moderate by conviction and constituency, vote their true beliefs. That hasn’t happened this year. We’ve seen the Republicans marching in lockstep. A guy like Bill Green [a Republican from Eastside Manhattan], who supported Carter 65 percent of the time, has been all but 100 percent for Reagan.

Now, as Democrats we looked at the situation as if we had effective control and not just numerical control, and we felt an obligation to tie things into nice neat packages, as is the normal obligation of a majority. But if you’re going to lose, then what you have to do is stake out positions and recognize that you may not win on those positions in the immediate future, but at least you let your constituents know that you still believe in what they believe in. Ultimately things will turn around, and you’ll win on those issues.

Instead what we’ve been doing is trying to fudge on the issues, trying to outbid them, as we tried in the tax fight, because the important thing is to win and not to stand for something. The irony, of course, is that we lose anyhow, we confuse our constituents, who may end up looking to make their deals with the other side rather than us, because at least they are in power and we’re not.

On economic issues, the traditional Democratic base seems hopelessly divided between taxpayers and welfare mothers, the middle class and the unemployed?

It is a serious problem. One of the consequences of the economic crisis we are going through is that people are being forced to be less compassionate. So a strong economy is absolutely essential to allowing people’s better instincts to be exercised. But to suggest that the way you deal with the problem is to say, “O.K., the middle class or the upper middle class is having things

tough, so we can’t take care of malnourished kids this year”—that should be unacceptable to us as a society.

Are the Democrats then a party of a booming economy? Do you simply have to wait for better times to recapture a majority for liberal programs?

I think that a lot of people now are too young to have personally lived through some of the difficult times that were the nurturing for many of the social programs that ultimately became enacted. Others who lived through it have forgotten the benefits they received.

But the fact is that this country cannot survive if we accept 51 percent of minority kids being unemployed—those are the ones who are looking for work, God knows what the real percentage is. So for everybody’s sake, I think you have to have representatives who remember that there is an obligation to provide minimum care and opportunity for all of our people. I don’t think we’re always guaranteed that a Roosevelt will come along and save us from our worst instincts. I think it is just as possible that we will be so stupid that in fact our society will tear itself apart.

Let’s talk now about alternatives to Reaganism. You’ve been a proponent of wage-price controls and other forms of government regulation of business. Do you think that in order to solve our economic problems, we have to go even farther toward government control of investment—to some form of social democracy or democratic socialism?

The problem that I have is that I am loathe to support plans or steps that tend to freeze answers into place. I look at business bureaucracy and I look at government bureaucracy, and the saving grace is that at least if the will is there, it’s undoable, it’s changeable. My concern is that if we start nationalizing—as distinguished from planning, which I think there ought to be—then we freeze ourselves in a bureaucracy that will be that much harder to turn around if it turns out it is not working the way we had wanted.

What is planning? Were you referring to the kind of proposals for a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation that Felix Rohatyn has been making?

I wasn’t really thinking about that, though that’s not a bad example. I was thinking about having more government role in production—in the creation of reserves and the utilization of resources. I think that the kind of free-market planning by an individual industry or company that goes on doesn’t necessarily give the country the best of it.

I think government ought to have an obligation to look 25 or 50 or 75 years down the road and say, “Listen, friends, we can’t really afford to do that because if we do it, then 50 years from now we’re not going to have the capacity to support ourselves.”

What about the energy companies? In ZERO-SUM SOCIETY, Lester Thurow argues that there really isn’t an alternative to total deregulation and nationalization—regulation by itself tends to discourage production. Do you think we face that choice?

Not for me. I don’t think you have to be for nationalization or for all controls being off. I would take a middle path.

What about the case of the railroads, where the government has to lease the trains from the private companies at their price and then absorb the losses? That’s the middle path. Do you support it there?

You probably have got the one example. The railroads probably could be run more effectively the other way. Maybe it’s the only example where I’d say that maybe we have to pull it all together. ■

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, fourth week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612,
(415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

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Sadat stirred up religious antagonisms

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

ANWAR SADAT WAS TOTALLY committed to alliance with the United States and peace with Israel. His reward is a terrible lesson to his successor—whether vice president Hosni Mubarak or, eventually, someone else.

Egypt at first supported Sadat's bold policy, sharing his aspiration for peace and prosperity with American blessings. But the promise of prosperity never came to fruition, the peace was incomplete and more and more Egyptians came to believe that Sadat's endless concessions to Israel were bringing Egypt nothing but humiliation and isolation in the Arab world. Exactly one month before he was killed, Sadat attempted to silence mounting criticism by arresting virtually the entire political elite. This can only have convinced the military plotters that the time had come when Sadat's death would also kill his policies.

At an Oct. 6 parade celebrating the partially victorious 1973 war against Israel, a truckload of soldiers halted in front of the presidential reviewing stand and opened fire on the president. Sadat and several other people were killed amid utter confusion. The complicities involved in such a spectacular assassination probably extend too far—and too high—for the full truth ever to come out. Libyan leader Colonel Qaddafi certainly backed the plotters, if they gave him the chance.

But the roots of Sadat's downfall are much deeper. Sadat aspired to make Egypt the United States' principal ally in the region. To do so, he had to make peace with Israel—whose leaders do not want to see any Arab country, even Egypt, play such a role. That was a basic contradiction that, many moderate Egyptians feared, doomed Sadat's project from the start.

The Egyptian middle classes and military men, sensitive to affronts to national pride, felt that Sadat's eager offers to serve America and please Israel were being repeatedly spurned. Suspicion grew that Israel premier Menachem Begin's es-

"Mr. Begin, now weeping for his lost friend, did nothing to make things easier for Sadat when he was alive."

calating demands and tacit encouragement of extremists in his own country were designed to wreck a peace he never really sought and only used, when it was forced on him at Camp David, to pursue Israel's expansion in other directions.

Expressing the "reaction of a patriotic Egyptian" to the assassination of Sadat, journalist Lotfallah Soliman said in Paris that "the political responsibility belongs to Mr. Begin, who is now weeping over his lost friend, but who did nothing to make things easier for that friend when he was alive." "Begin," says Soliman, "was so intransigent that his friend was continually obliged to make concessions—concessions that went beyond what was tolerable." Soliman recalled that Begin "met with Mr. Sadat and the very next day bombed Iraq. Sadat, of course, was very uncomfortable, he had to protest that he knew nothing about it. Then he met Begin a second time and Begin immediately went bombing Beirut. All that put Sadat in an untenable position."

Soliman and other prominent Egyptian journalists in Paris had stressed in inter-



A pro-Sadat poster on a Cairo street.

views a few days before the assassination that massive arrests in early September appeared to be Sadat's response to Begin's recent demands that Sadat speed up the "normalization" process before Israel's final evacuation of the Sinai, scheduled for next April.

Commenting on the surprise round-up of 1,536 people on the night of Sept. 3, journalist Mohammed Sid Ahmed stressed that "this is the first time Egypt has experienced repression in such proportions. Not a single independent political current—I don't say opposition, just independent—was left unscathed." A leader of the moderate left National Progressive Unionist Party, Mohammed Sid Ahmed escaped the dragnet, but 23 of his colleagues, three of them former cabinet ministers, were arrested.

Aside from Moslem extremists, whose activities provided the original pretext for the mass arrests, and the Coptic Christian Pope Shenuda III, Sadat had ordered the arrest of countless laic public figures who share Egypt's traditional tolerance in religious matters. A veritable "who's who" of Egyptian public life, they include former members of parliament, well-known writers, journalists and university professors, 10 prominent women (including internationally-known Marxist sexologist Nawal Saadawi) and the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party, set up originally by Sadat himself to serve as a "loyal opposition." According to the Paris-based Study Center on Human Rights in Egypt, the arrests continued after the initial 1,500 and had reached 5,000 by late September.

What evidently united the entire spectrum of Egyptian opinion, and brought them all into the line of fire, were growing misgivings over the course taken by "normalization" with Israel. Egypt was

extremely shocked by the recent Israeli air raids against Beirut and against the Tamuz reactor in Iraq. Egyptians have grown more and more uncomfortable with the thought that their genuine desire for peace is being used to make them unwitting accomplices in on-going war against fellow Arabs.

At a meeting of the Socialist Labor Party just after the bombing of the Iraqi reactor, even the ailing 76-year-old former chairman of the bar association, Abdel Aziz el Courbagui—long considered by Sadat as a spiritual father—rose to criticize the president. Though frail and nearly blind, the old man was hauled off to prison with the rest. Neither relatives nor lawyers have been allowed any contact with the prisoners.

Moslem versus socialist.

Knowledgeable observers agree that Moslem fanaticism (1) was only a pretext for the crackdown and (2) had been stirred up by Sadat himself, to combat socialist leanings left over

from Nasser's time.

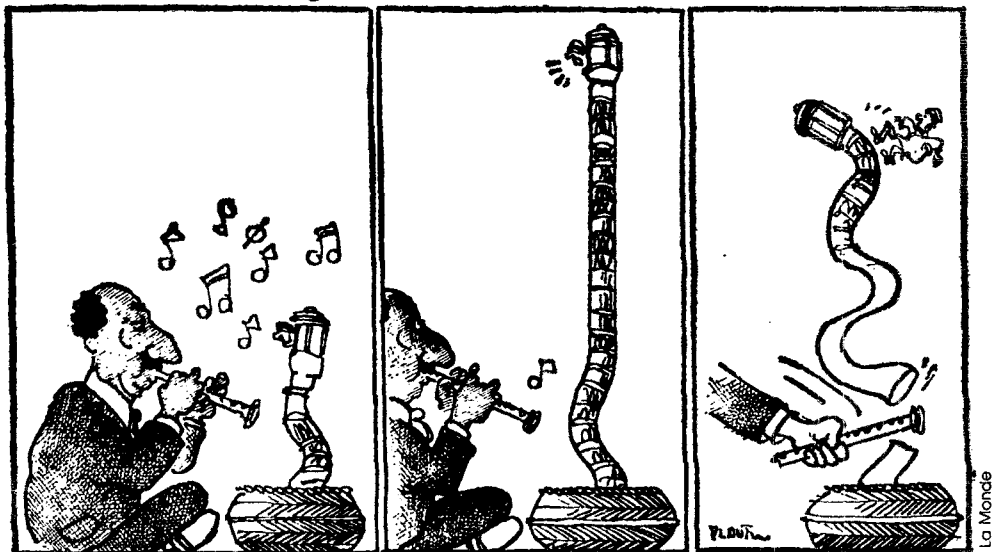
"It was Sadat himself who defied Egyptian tradition by proclaiming himself a 'Moslem president of a Moslem country,'" explained Lotfallah Soliman, who works at the Study Center. The monarchy had just called itself "Egyptian" and Nasser called the country "Arab." It was to counter the Arab identification that Sadat signed the "Islamic Pact" with the non-Arab (but ill-fated) Shah of Iran. Soliman emphasized that Coptic Christians are an integral part of Egyptian society at all levels, and that stirring up religious antagonism indeed threatened to tear the nation apart. Coptic Christians naturally objected to growing moves to impose Islamic law on all Egyptians.

Mohammed Sid Ahmed agreed that Sadat's policies were largely to blame for the rise of extremist religious groups. "The de-socialization of Egypt was accompanied by an encouragement of religious movements. But what seems to me more important is that the peace process as carried through by the regime was largely responsible for the exacerbation of inter-religious strife. Let me explain. Insofar as this process was separated from the rest of the Arab world, and Sadat was in opposition to most of the Islamic world, in the eyes of the fundamentalist groups he himself had encouraged Sadat became identified with the Judeo-Christian world against the Islamic world. In this light, those organizations saw the Coptic minority in Egypt as the Trojan horse of the Judeo-Christian world. On the other hand, the Copts were entirely within their rights to reject such reasoning and to fight back. Thus on both sides there was an exacerbation of religious friction."

"Now today," continued Sid Ahmed, "both Moslems and Copts have been victims of repression on behalf of normalization with Israel. Thus, to the ordinary Egyptian, it looks as if both Copts and Moslems are being repressed for the Jews. What does all this mean? Instead of having created harmony among the three religions—united against atheistic subversion and so on, as official propaganda would have it—instead there was an exacerbation of antagonism between them, the likes of which has not been seen in the entire history of Egypt."

Religious troubles reached their peak last June, whereas the repression came only in September, after a period of relative calm. The timing as well as the extent of the arrests destroyed the credibility of the religious pretext. Then Sadat came up with a second accusation, of a KGB plot. "What is significant here," said Sid Ahmed, "is that Mr. Mohammed Abdel Salem el Zayyat, accused of heading the Soviet conspiracy, is the very same gentleman picked by Sadat in May 1971 to take over Egyptian radio and television to get rid of a group Sadat accused of being pro-Soviet." The accusation that such distinguished citizens were Soviet agents is "all the more surprising in that they were arrested on the first day, when the only charge was religious

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IN SHORT

What's in a number?

Some day, after each of us has been stamped with a marketing code, strategically placed electronic eyes will take the uncertainty out of crowd estimates. But until then the figures for events such as the Sept. 19 "Solidarity Day" demonstration will continue to be disputed. The AFL-CIO, which sponsored the anti-Reagan rally, claims that there were more than 400,000 participants; the U.S. Park Service and its Park police, under the jurisdiction of (yes, again) Interior Secretary James Watt, fed the major media the generally accepted estimate of 260,000.

"The conviction runs high around here that the Park police lowballed us," a federation spokesman told "In Short" stringer Calvin Zon. "They weren't about to have it said that the largest political demonstration in U.S. history was aimed against Ronald Reagan." The spokesman said that shortly after the speeches began around 2 p.m., with the rally still growing, a Park Service officer stationed at the speakers' platform estimated the crowd at 315,000. But throughout the afternoon, reporters calling Park Service headquarters were given the 260,000 figure.

The Park Service denies any meddling with the numbers, but Sam Jordan, an aide to D.C. mayor Marion Barry (who supported Solidarity Day), has admitted to withholding his own higher count from the press. Late in the rally, Jordan estimated from the speakers' platform that the throng had surpassed 400,000—a figure that the aide, who has a reputation for being readily accessible, would not later confirm to reporters. Nine days after the fact, Jordan acknowledged to Zon that he "didn't want to start a controversy" with the Reagan administration; so, fearing possible retaliation in the form of "budget cuts that could hurt the city," he'd allowed more than 140,000 rallies to drop from the public record. As for the Park Service estimate, Jordan said, "I was very disgusted with it. It was just a political count as far as I was concerned."

Citizens above indictment

The families of the four American religious workers killed in El Salvador last December met with Salvadoran president Jose Napoleon Duarte and U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Dean Hinton on Sept. 30, asking for a progress report on the murder investigation, Jefferson Morley reports. They got no report, because there has been no progress. "We were told essentially the same thing today that the State Department told us in March," William Ford, brother of the slain Ita Ford, said at a Capitol Hill press conference after the meeting. "As far as I can see, there is no investigation."

Duarte told the families that under Salvadoran law the evidence against six national guardsmen who were arrested in May was insufficient to return indictments. Of 65 guardsmen in the area at the time of the killings, only 13 have been fingerprinted; no higher-ranking officers have been investigated. Ambassador Hinton's excuse for the administration's foot-dragging—that FBI participation in the case might set a bad precedent—was undercut by FBI spokesman Lane Bonner, who said that bureau cooperation with foreign police departments in criminal investigations is "not at all unusual."

Haig broke the mold

The Reagan administration's declaration that the Soviet Union is using toxic chemicals in Asia is based on "seriously incomplete" evidence, according to *Science* magazine (and relayed by the Zodiac News Service). Secretary of State Alexander Haig's "firm evidence" of toxic chemicals, the magazine says, turns out to be based on analysis of a single leaf and stem contaminated with mycotoxins, a fungus mold the U.S. claims does not exist naturally in Southeast Asia. Not so, chime the fungus experts—mycotoxins may well occur anywhere on earth. When asked how Southeast Asia was ruled out as a home to the naturally occurring poison, a State Department spokesman said a search of 3,000 references to mycotoxins in scientific literature turned up no specific mention of that region.

CWIPs are for cads

Once again, the administration is riding its white horse to the rescue of the profit margin. A recent foray takes the form of a proposal by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to saddle electricity ratepayers with charges for "Construction Work in Progress" (CWIP). CWIP is a gimmick that allows utilities to pass along to consumers the cost of power plants that are still being built—a departure from the usual practice of charging only for plants in operation.

FERC wants to dilute, if not remove, the financial guidelines it currently uses to determine whether a utility can charge for CWIP. As a result you might see more and more utilities pleading poverty so they can make some quick bucks. You might also see utilities that want to enhance their rate base building unnecessary new power plants—especially capital-intensive nuclear plants. And even though FERC regulates only about 10 percent of the country's electricity sales, its go-ahead on CWIP could well lead state utility commissions to follow suit. Possible result: a nationwide electricity-bill increase of 15 percent or more.

—Josh Kornbluth



Pesticide use has increased tenfold in the last 30 years—yet twice as many crops have been lost to pests.

Chemical war starts up in the halls of Congress

WASHINGTON—With the farm bill just about wrapped up, the House and Senate agriculture committees now turn to an issue that has kept environmental and health groups busy all summer: reauthorization of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), which protects citizens from exposure to toxic pesticides.

Another interested party, the National Agricultural Chemical Association (NACA)—the major lobbying arm of the \$4.5 billion-a-year industry in "crop protection chemicals"—called for rewrites and repeals of key FIFRA provisions right after the November election. But a coalition of environmentalists, health advocates and farmworker groups is working to keep the law intact.

"Sometimes the pesticides will still be fresh and we will get the drops like dew on our skin," said Josefina Castillo, a farmworker who testified before Rep. George Brown's (D-Calif.) agriculture subcommittee this summer. "Other times they will use powders that blow off or fall on your body while you are picking. Several times during the last years I have gotten very sick."

According to the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP), use of pesticides has increased tenfold in the last 30 years, yet loss of crops to pests has doubled. While there are no reliable figures on instances of physical harm caused by these chemicals, the state of California—the nation's largest agricultural producer and pesticide consumer—recorded 1,403 cases of pesticide-related illness in 1980. State officials estimate that the actual figure is closer to 140,000 cases. Yet very little is known about the health effects of long-term exposure to these substances.

NACA and the other chemical lobbies are focusing their considerable resources on two main

issues. One is modification of a 1978 amendment to FIFRA requiring manufacturers to disclose health and safety data to the EPA when registering a pesticide. NACA says this information falls into the category of trade secrets.

The second key issue involves states' rights. FIFRA has established federal standards for pesticide regulation, leaving the states authority to develop further restrictions. California, for example, has established worker-protection standards that are more stringent than the EPA's, and conducted more complete health studies on factors such as skin absorption and foliar residue. The industry would prefer that the states defer to federal law except in cases of proven "special local concern."

The groups fighting to save the current regulations won a small victory last month when the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture, often pro-pesticide, came out against any amendments to the states'-rights section of the law. States want to retain the flexibility to respond to their own conditions, whether climatic or political. Industry has taken the unfamiliar stance of defending national laws over states' rights, banking on the benefits of deregulation fever at the federal level.

The House will reach a decision on FIFRA this month, while the Senate agriculture committee will soon begin hearings.

—Viveca Elkers

Christian left hits the barrio

"The Chamber of Commerce hates my guts," said a former Catholic archbishop of San Antonio, describing the reaction to his role in the birth of the South-

west's most powerful organization—San Antonio Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS).

Such disdain of Catholic leaders by the business community has been unusual, and mostly remains so. Yet it points to a rift in the church's traditional love affair with the political and economic status quo, and illustrates the worldwide reach of the changes in the church.

COPS is just one of many growing community organizations in the Southwest and California spawned wholly or in part by the Catholic Church. Their growth is quickest in California, where, in the wake of the 1980 Democratic Party losses, there is even talk of formation of a European-style Christian Democratic Party.

The greatest impact of such groups has been in Latino communities, because Latinos more readily grasp the meaning of the revolutionary role of the Catholic Church in Latin America. There the church in many countries has shifted its allegiance in recent decades from the powerful to the poor.

The beacons of the movement in the West are COPS and the United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO) in Los Angeles. Both were organized in the early '70s through Catholic parishes. Both received key funding from the church's Campaign for Human Development, which distributes money from one Sunday's collection each year in almost every U.S. Catholic parish to social change efforts.

Both groups now play significant roles in their cities' politics. Their accomplishments range from halting tax subsidies to wealthy land developers in San Antonio to bargaining down car insurance rates in East Los Angeles, UNO's Latino base.

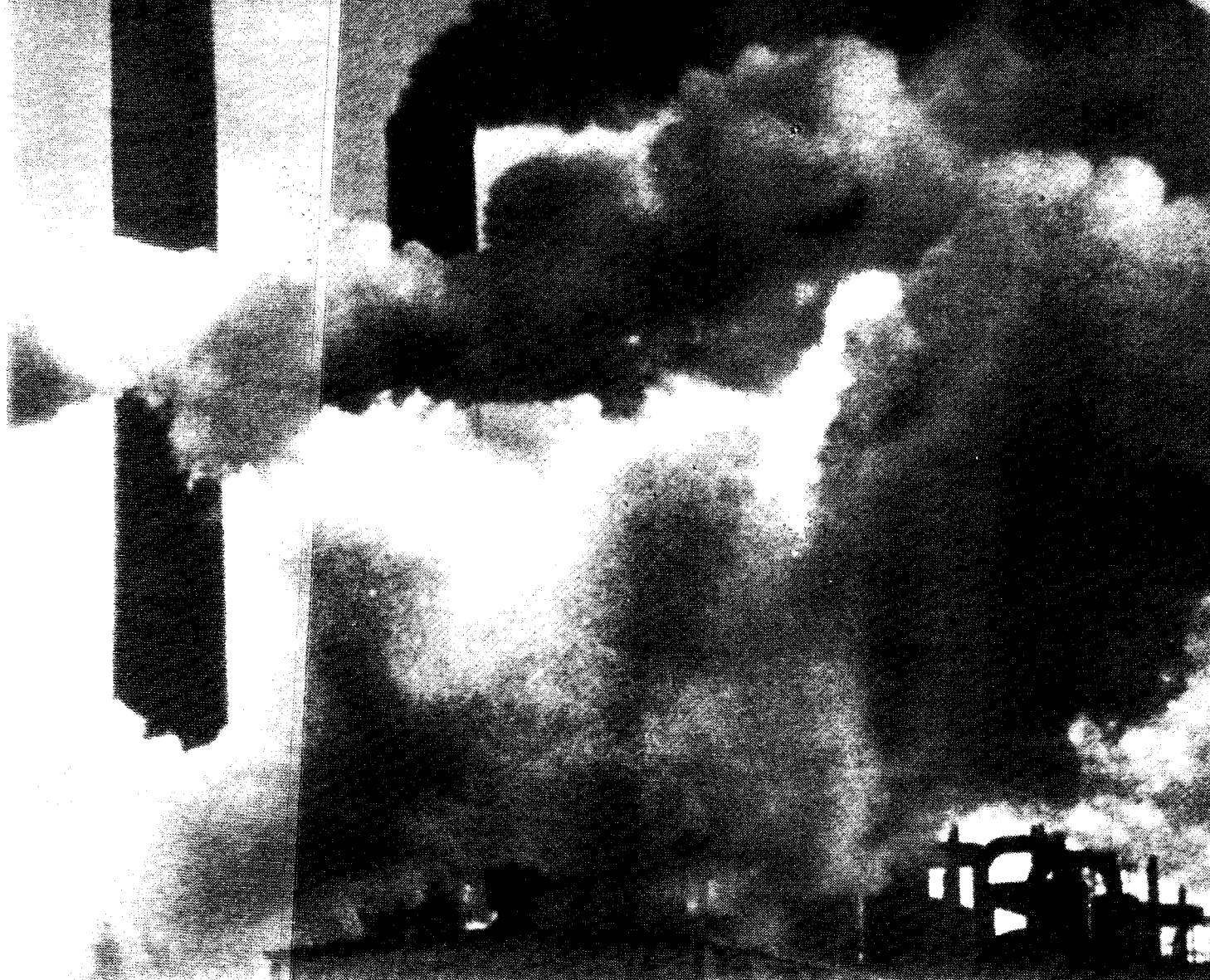
The spread of church-related community organizations has also been encouraged by creation of statewide and regional organizations—the Pacific Institute for Community Organizations, which has led the formation of community organizations in cities from Seattle to San Diego, and the *Congreso Para Pueblos Unidos* (Congress for United Communities), which represents a network of community organizations in the more rural areas of California. All of these organizations are the outgrowth of recent developments in Christian theology combined with the community-organizing techniques of the late Saul Alinsky.

UNO's major goal is to bring more jobs to East Los Angeles and find ways to counter recent massive cutbacks in government-funded health care. It is trying now to develop friendly relations with major corporations in Los Angeles. "We tell them we want an investment from them because we are creating a stable community that can benefit them," said Lopez. "We want the government and the private sector to work as effectively in the barrios as they do in the affluent parts of the city."

—Bill Kenkel

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THE ENVIRONMENT

Clean air assault
uses smokescreen

By David Moberg

WASHINGTON

THANKS TO THE CLEAN AIR ACT of 1970 the nation's air is now cleaner and healthier, saving about 14,000 lives and delivering a minimum of \$21 billion in measureable benefits during one recent year. But despite progress on many fronts, some serious air pollution problems continue unabated. Others, including many not even covered by existing legislation or administrative rulings, have worsened. Original deadlines for clean-up have been pushed back. Most affected industries have fought compliance at every step, even though when they finally submitted to the law many of those same industries benefited from technological innovation forced upon them.

With the act now up for reauthorization, the persistent foes of legislative protection of the atmosphere hope to roll back the standards and enforcement procedures in the act farther than ever before. Ironically, part of their argument is based on the success of the laws they fought. They say, "Look how far we've come at a comparatively small cost. [Never mind the earlier forecasts of doom and bankruptcy, not to mention warnings of technological incapacity.] But doing anything more will be very difficult, expensive and disruptive."

The stagnant economy, with severe ills in some major polluting industries such as autos, utilities and steel, and the anti-government, anti-regulatory political climate in Washington also set the stage for a full-scale assault on the Clean Air Act.

The Reagan administration is clearly sympathetic to the attack. Over the summer two draft revisions of the act were leaked. Each represented a wide-ranging weakening of the law so that "in dirty areas the air would get cleaner at a slower pace and in cleaner areas the air would get dirtier—quite a bit dirtier in some areas like the mountainous West," according to Richard Ayres, chairman of

the National Clean Air Coalition, which includes environmentalists, public health, consumer and labor organizations.

But the administration has not pushed its own omnibus revision in Congress thus far and may continue to hold off in favor of a series of bills—most likely to have "bipartisan" sponsorship—that will cripple the act in the guise of "fine-tuning" while everyone praises clean air. The reason is simple: public opinion polls show that environmental legislation, especially the Clean Air Act, has extremely strong support, even at the expense of economic growth. But thus far Reagan personally has managed to avoid appearing as the enemy of the environment: half of the respondents to a CBS/*New York Times* poll taken late last month trust the president to make the right decisions about the environment.

Forget cost-benefit.

"We read the same polls you do," Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) spokesman Skip Price said. Consequently, the only official pronouncement from the administration has been a vague statement of seemingly innocuous principles from EPA administrator Anne Gorsuch. But an analysis of those principles in an internal memo for The Business Roundtable, one of the more headline corporate groups seeking to take the teeth out of the law, reveals that the administration has adopted a pro-industry, anti-environment position down the line.

Concerning Gorsuch's platitude that "the nation should continue its steady progress toward cleaner air," Business Roundtable spokesman Roger Strelow commented that environmental groups "will argue that the administration's proposals fail to meet its own test, since they allow substantially higher emissions than would be permitted by the present version of the Act. In support of this contention, these groups will be able to point to credible evidence which suggests that...changes in the law...will increase emissions by 3.0 to 5.0 million tons per year...."

Although Gorsuch backed away from

using cost-benefit analyses for setting basic new national ambient air-quality standards, the Roundtable took credit for her emphasis on "sound scientific data" and "real health risks." The Clean Air Coalition interprets these codes as meaning that protection will be drafted only against life-threatening levels of pollution, while special needs of the young, elderly and sick are ignored. Strelow essentially agreed, shrugging off the administration's rejection of cost-benefit analyses in those—but not all—standards as a political move to win support for cutting the muscle of the act: "If translated into appropriate legislative language, the administration's proposal probably would permit EPA to relax the present standards substantially."

The draft bill is much more explicit than Gorsuch's principles. Also, recent congressional testimony by the EPA embraced the full range of concessions to the auto industry incorporated in the bill introduced by Cong. Bob Traxler (D-Mich.) and Elwood Hillis (R-Ind.) Gradually, the Reagan position is emerging, but behind as much political armor as possible.

The basic changes in the legislation outlined in the draft bill include the following:

- Though new standards are needed and mandated by existing law for many pollutants not currently regulated, Reagan revisions would relax or repeal requirements for setting new standards and introduce cost of compliance as a legitimate consideration along with health.

- Standards for and supervision of state implementation programs would be drastically weakened; federal enforcement would be reduced to a meaningless token.

- In the areas that currently violate national standards, which now encompass 140 million people, new polluters would no longer be required to match the "lowest achievable emission rate" technology or to offset their pollution by reduction in other sources.

- In areas now cleaner than the national health requirements, the control

standards on new plants would be relaxed. Except in national parks and wilderness (and not entirely even in those cases), there would be no limitations on the amounts of new pollution that could be created as long as the national health standards are not violated.

- Standards for new sources would be weakened. For example, new polluters could avoid even minimum controls if there are off-setting reductions elsewhere. New coal-fired utilities could use low-sulfur fuel rather than install scrubbers, resulting in several million tons per year increase in sulfur dioxide pollution.

The law as averages.

The dismantling of auto standards has been pushed forward most rapidly. The Traxler-Hillis Bill would replace the current ceilings on carbon monoxide (CO) and nitrogen oxide (NO) emissions with floors twice as high, even though virtually all 1981 model gasoline-powered cars meet the NO standards and 70 percent meet the CO standard. Waivers for even higher levels of pollution would be easily available; compliance with standards would be determined by averaging, not by enforcing the rules for every car; compliance could also be attained by averaging across a corporate fleet or even from year to year.

The auto companies, with general support from the United Auto Workers, maintain that the existing standards are not necessary. Besides, if standards are relaxed, they would save from \$60 to \$300 per car and—so they claim—pass on the savings to the consumer.

Defenders of the current law point out that the savings would be a minuscule fraction of current auto prices and would, in the words of auto securities analyst Arvid Jouppi, "become diffused and unlocatable in the massive and intricate costing structure of the industry." That is, the auto companies would probably pocket most of the savings. And in order to save even the couple hundred dollars they cite, the auto companies would have to drop their new electronic feedback equipment—which is responsible for significant fuel economy gains.

Defenders of the current law offer several arguments against relaxation of nitrogen and carbon standards. Nitrogen oxides have been a growing problem during the past decade. In addition to their own harmful effects, they contribute to smog and acid rain. And though several reports, including that of the National Commission on Air Quality, recommended loosening up the CO standard, the scientific and professional staff at the EPA concluded that 39 cities were likely to have trouble meeting CO standards by 1990 even with the current law. Besides, the tighter CO standard gives a margin of safety, is associated with higher fuel economy and is easily attainable at small cost.

For a few dollars—roughly the cost of a car radio—the Traxler-Hillis bill would increase risks to public health and comfort. Consumers would not see noticeable savings. But even if the industry pocketed an additional few billion dollars, it would be a Pyrrhic victory. There is good reason to think that Japanese competitors would benefit even more than U.S. companies. In many cases they could drop all pollution devices as their engines would by themselves meet the new standards. Besides, instead of facing pressure for technological advances that might make the U.S. industry more competitive throughout the world, the auto companies would be able to slide back to their old and decidedly noninnovative patterns.

"This bill reflects a substantial undoing of all we have worked for these past ten years," Michael P. Walsh, former director of the office of mobile source air pollution control at the EPA, testified recently. "Those who would characterize this bill as fine tuning would, I suspect, refer to Mt. St. Helens as a minor rock slide."

The surreptitiously emerging Reagan approach to the entire Clean Air Act is in fact an avalanche of corporate concessions, hidden from a public committed to cleaner air by myriad obscure legal and scientific technicalities that will be described as minor rock slides, or just picking up a few stray regulatory pebbles. ■

ELECTIONS

Beleaguered tenants flex their ballots

By Peter Dreier

BOSTON

TENANT POWER" ARRIVED in Boston on Sept. 22 during the city council primary election. Whether it came for a short visit or an extended stay depends on how well tenants do in the general election on Nov. 3.

In a field of 40 candidates for the council, all six candidates endorsed and promoted by the Boston Tenants Campaign Organization (BTCO) survived the cut-off and will be among the 18 candidates squaring off for nine seats in November. It was the first time that Boston tenants—who make up 70 percent of the city's households—have organized an electoral force. By promoting a "tenant ticket"—restricted to candidates who support strong rent controls and a halt to condominium conversions—the BTCO injected tenant issues into an otherwise dull race that drew a turnout of only 27 percent.

The tenants' strong showing was particularly sweet in contrast to the failure of Mayor Kevin White's organization to boost its own candidates—dubbed the "Kevin Seven" by local media—over the primary finish line. Only one of the mayor's anointed candidates—Bruce Bolling, a black former city employee from Roxbury, who finished eighth—scored well; two others were barely dragged over the line, finishing seventeenth and eighteenth. The other four finished twentieth or worse and are now out of the running.

Both the "tenant ticket" and the "Kevin Seven" ran against the present city council. For White, the council's unwillingness to rubber-stamp his policies has been a continual annoyance. But the opposition has rarely been over substantive issues. The city council here is generally regarded as a platform for aspiring politicians who have their eye on higher office or as a secure paycheck for incumbents who build up personal fiefdoms with favors and patronage. The city council has opposed (unsuccessfully) White's efforts to build a Daley-like machine with highly paid aides, lavish expense accounts and a patronage army of city workers who have returned White to office four times since 1967. To the city's tenants, the current council has been an instrument of landlords and developers, who regularly provide the bulk of campaign contributions, in exchange for which the council has refused to adopt tenant protections.

Only six of the nine council incumbents ran for re-election, and they all easily won a place in the final election, finishing one through six. Ray Flynn, the lone tenant advocate on the council who was part of the "tenant ticket," finished first by a wide margin and is considered a potential challenger to White in the 1983 mayoral election.

Boston has a long history of tenant activism, but until now tenant groups have not worked together in electoral politics, instead remaining on the outside, organizing tenants against landlords, arsonists and the city housing department, and bringing tenants to city council hearings, where accounts of their plight fell on deaf ears.

Boston's rent control law, passed in 1970, was weakened in 1976 with the approval of "vacancy decontrol," which permanently removes an apartment from controls once a tenant moves. Today less than 20,000 of the original 125,000 apartments are still controlled, and rents have skyrocketed in the decontrolled units. Meanwhile, "condomania" has removed more than 6,000 apartments from the rental market in the past four years.

Yet both the council and the mayor have refused to enact strong protections.

Last summer, after the council voted against an ordinance to ban evictions for conversions, proposed by Flynn, tenant leaders decided that they'd had enough. The Massachusetts Tenant Organization, a statewide group formed only a few months before (*In These Times*, Feb. 18), started the Boston Tenants Campaign Organization to work in the city council race.

Nuts and bolts.

The BTCO sent questionnaires to all 40 candidates and then interviewed the 11 candidates with reasonably pro-tenant responses. Though the BTCO viewed restoring full rent control and protecting

voters—a considerable feat in light of the fact that the registration period ended just four days after Sept. 1, when many apartments change hands. On election day, about 150 activists were either on the phone "pulling" tenants to the polls or handing out "tenant ticket" cards at polling places. The entire campaign cost less than \$7,000.

And it paid off: voter turn-out in the heavy tenant areas targeted by BTCO increased dramatically over 1977, the last primary election in which the mayoralty was not at stake. The "tenant ticket" finished one through six in the biggest tenant area, Allston-Brighton, and ran well in other tenant neighborhoods. The BT-

pendence from the mayor's agenda.

Looking to the future.

A complete "tenant ticket" sweep in November is unlikely, but BTCO does have a shot at getting three or four of its candidates on the city council. Mayor White is taking no chances. Much of BTCO's hopes rest on a full-scale voter registration drive among renters, but White's Election Commission has already told the BTCO that it will not approve registration tables in the heavy tenant areas of the city—a maneuver that the BTCO intends to challenge. Tenant groups are gearing up for an even more extensive (and expensive) door-to-door canvass, direct mail, visits to the large network of senior citizens clubs and a get-out-the-vote effort.

A strong tenant presence on the city council might begin to reverse the tidal wave of gentrification, the displacement of the city's poor and working class and the giveaways to downtown businesses that are the hallmark of the present city policy. It might also create the momentum for a direct challenge to White in 1983 by incumbent Ray Flynn, a popular and hard-working tenant advocate who

The strong showing of the "tenant ticket" was particularly sweet in contrast to Mayor White's failure to sell voters on his own slate, dubbed the "Kevin seven" by local media.



For candidates like David Scondras with low citywide name recognition the tenants' efforts made the difference.

tenants from condo conversion as the bottom-line issues, they also took into consideration candidates' views on public housing and the city's development priorities.

Six candidates got the nod, and the BTCO launched a two-month effort on their behalf, including a door-to-door canvass that reached about 7,500 households. Canvassers focused on the large, absentee-owned buildings in predominantly tenant areas of the city. They explained the link between the city council election and tenant problems, urging tenants to register to vote and soliciting contributions for campaign literature and staff expenses.

"The reaction to the canvass was extremely positive," explained John DuBois, BTCO canvass coordinator, who learned the ropes at Massachusetts Fair Share. "We didn't need to persuade tenants about the need for rent control or condo protections. Rent control opened doors. We just had to explain that they could affect their situation through the city council."

The BTCO registered about 1,000 new

CO campaign clearly made the difference for its candidates with low city-wide name recognition (community leader David Scondras, Craig Lankhorst, a black former school teacher, and lawyer Michael McCormack) and widened the margin for top vote-getter Flynn, former police commissioner Ed McNamara and Charles Yancey, a black from Dorchester.

In contrast, Mayor White's patronage army of 1,500 to 2,000 municipal employees failed to deliver the goods for the "Kevin Seven," even though City Hall was practically empty on election day. As the *Boston Globe* explained the next day, White's machine "is fueled by fear, not loyalty." Though most precinct workers did what was required of them—distributing leaflets, displaying yard signs and bumperstickers, bringing votes to the polls—it was clear that many of them did not even vote for the "Kevin Seven" themselves. Many resent White's heavy-handed display of power, and few were enthusiastic about White's candidates, who revealed little knowledge of the issues facing Boston and little inde-

has moved steadily away from his early conservative views (a product of his South Boston roots), but without alienating his working-class followers.

Even if only a few of the "tenant ticket" survive the November election, Boston politics will never be quite the same. Having flexed their political muscles, tenants are unlikely to retire from electoral politics. By showing their strength, they have made tenant issues too important to ignore. The BTCO's success could inspire the city's politically weak and hurting public sector unions to make more serious efforts to influence the outcome of future mayoral and city council elections. It may also move community groups such as Massachusetts Fair Share a step closer to entering the electoral arena.

And, says BTCO director John Hanson, "if we do well in Boston, we'll do the same thing in other cities around the state. We're still learning, but we're learning fast."

Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University.

POLITICS



Another black candidate denied Andrew Young a majority, but he is favored in the Oct. 27 run-off against the business candidate, Sidney Marcus.

By Patricia Ohmans

ATLANTA

DILIGATES TO THE UNITED Nations would certainly have been taken aback to see the former ambassador from the United States sprinting down Marietta Street here, shaking hands with downtown commuters to an escorting soundtrack's funky rhythms of "She's a Bad Mama Jama." But huckstering—however hip—is all in a day's work for Andrew Young, former delegate, former U.S. representative, now (literally) running for mayor in his home town.

Young, the favored candidate and endorsee of lame duck mayor Maynard Jackson (legally prevented from seeking a third consecutive term) will face business' choice, Sidney Marcus, on Oct. 27 in a run-off election. The run-off brings into high relief the growing political and racial complexity of this "City Too Busy To Hate." In last week's initial election Young won 42 percent of the vote—a plurality, but not the majority he needed to avoid the run-off. (Atlanta has no pri-

Atlanta is a city in terror of its own downtown—but realtors tell whites most crime is "black-on-black."

mary race—an oddity that is the legacy of its Solid South days. All mayoral candidates run in one election.)

Young's spoiler was A. Reginald Eaves, a black politician with a record of fairly effective administration in city and county offices. Eaves siphoned off 16 percent of the vote, mostly from people who would either have voted for Young, or not have voted at all. Marcus got 38 percent.

The rest of the seven candidates were the usual complement of himbos and zealots, among them a former CIA operative and fire dealer and KKK liaison, J.K. Ramey, best known for the billboard he erected over his dealership in downtown Atlanta. "Warning: You are in Atlanta!! Where police are underpaid, undermanned, underequipped. Use extreme caution while here," it reads. Ramey's bid for the ballot was quashed when a local judge ruled that he didn't live within city limits, but the law and order candidate's message was not lost on his colleagues

Young must keep running in race for mayor of Atlanta

who share concern about urban crime.

Despite a slight drop in the homicide rate last year, Atlanta remains a city in terror of its own downtown. Streets are bereft of whites after the 5:00 p.m. commuter flight. And tourists in Atlanta's posh Peachtree Plaza Hotel are discreetly urged to dine on the premises rather than venturing out after dark. The unspoken assumption that blacks are responsible for much of the city's crime is given a new twist by realtors who assure young white professionals considering a move back into town that most crime is, of course, "black-on-black."

When it comes to urban terror, Atlantans, like most Americans, are still bigots; but in politics, race consciousness, not racism, is the new buzzword. This has been evident in the mayoralty race, where Young's chief supporter in the business community was a white department store chairman, a black helped run Sidney Marcus' campaign and Eaves garnered quiet support from some white businessmen who learned to work with him when he was commissioner of public safety. Political analysts were happy to retire racism once and for all, focusing instead on "the heightened consciousness of a contest among members of different races," as one commentator put it.

This consciousness will most likely reach new heights in the run-off. Both Marcus and Young are liberal Democrats, indistinguishable on many of the issues. The election should break down on race lines, allowing Young to win handily, especially if, as expected, Eaves throws his support to the former ambassador.

City problems.

As mayor, Young will face among other headaches an unemployment rate of 6 percent (almost 35 percent among black teenagers). There are really two employment pictures in Atlanta, one inside the city limits and another outside the expressways. Layers of suburbs, dotted with new corporate buildings and headquarters, ring the city like mother-of-pearl. The economy of the outer metropolitan area has generated at least 20,000 new jobs a year for the last 20 years. Inside city limits, however, the number of

jobs has declined just as steadily, and this year an estimated 76,000 Atlantans need job training. The curtailment of many federally-funded job training programs and subsidized jobs will further darken the city's employment future. Beyond the perimeter of the city limits the availability of cheap land, parking and transportation complement a dearth of either union activity or affirmative action imperatives, making suburbia attractive indeed for most big employers.

Young promises to use his international cache to bring "business to Atlanta." But throughout the campaign he has been

thin on specifics. Skeptics suggest that "sophisticated" international money is not likely to land in Atlanta simply because it has a charming mayor, but Young's promise of international investors, however coy, rang more truly for sophisticated voters than Marcus' nuts and bolts administrative approach to the unemployment problem.

Marcus was also hampered by last-minute revelations that he was late paying taxes on his home and on certain real estate holdings. Although he shrugged it off ("even Harry Truman had trouble paying his bills," he said), Marcus was never charismatic enough to push the issue entirely aside.

A minor scandal also slowed Eaves, a third-generation black Jew who appealed to lower income blacks and some liberal whites who thought Young too unpredictable and Marcus too staid. Eaves' Achilles' heel was his alleged connection to policemen caught cheating on qualifying examinations. The former public safety commissioner was charged with obstructing investigation of the matter, and the accusations were kept alive by Atlanta's monopoly press throughout the campaign.

Some analysts also perceive Eaves as "too black" to succeed, distinguishing his populist appeal from the refined, light-skinned blackness of a Jackson or a Young. Even Jackson created enemies during his eight-year term by vigorously pushing affirmative action in city hiring. Young will have to work hard, first to insure his run-off victory, and then to consolidate a coalition among the real power brokers in Atlanta—rich whites who still control the economic future of the city, and upper-class blacks, who finally have its political reins firmly in their hands.

A telling footnote to the mayoral race was the resounding defeat of city councilman Q.V. Williamson, an old pro who in 1965 was the first black man elected to Atlanta political office since the reconstruction. Williamson's distinction tarnished over the years as he piled up a record of drunk-driving arrests and a reputation for strongarm political dealings and corruption. He was defeated almost three-to-one by Myrtle Davis, the black former president of the Atlanta League of Women Voters who campaigned on a "honest government platform." In general, Atlantans were pleased with the results of the council race, which, like the mayoral race, was seen as another indicator of the city's growing political maturity.

Patricia Ohmans is an Atlanta journalist.

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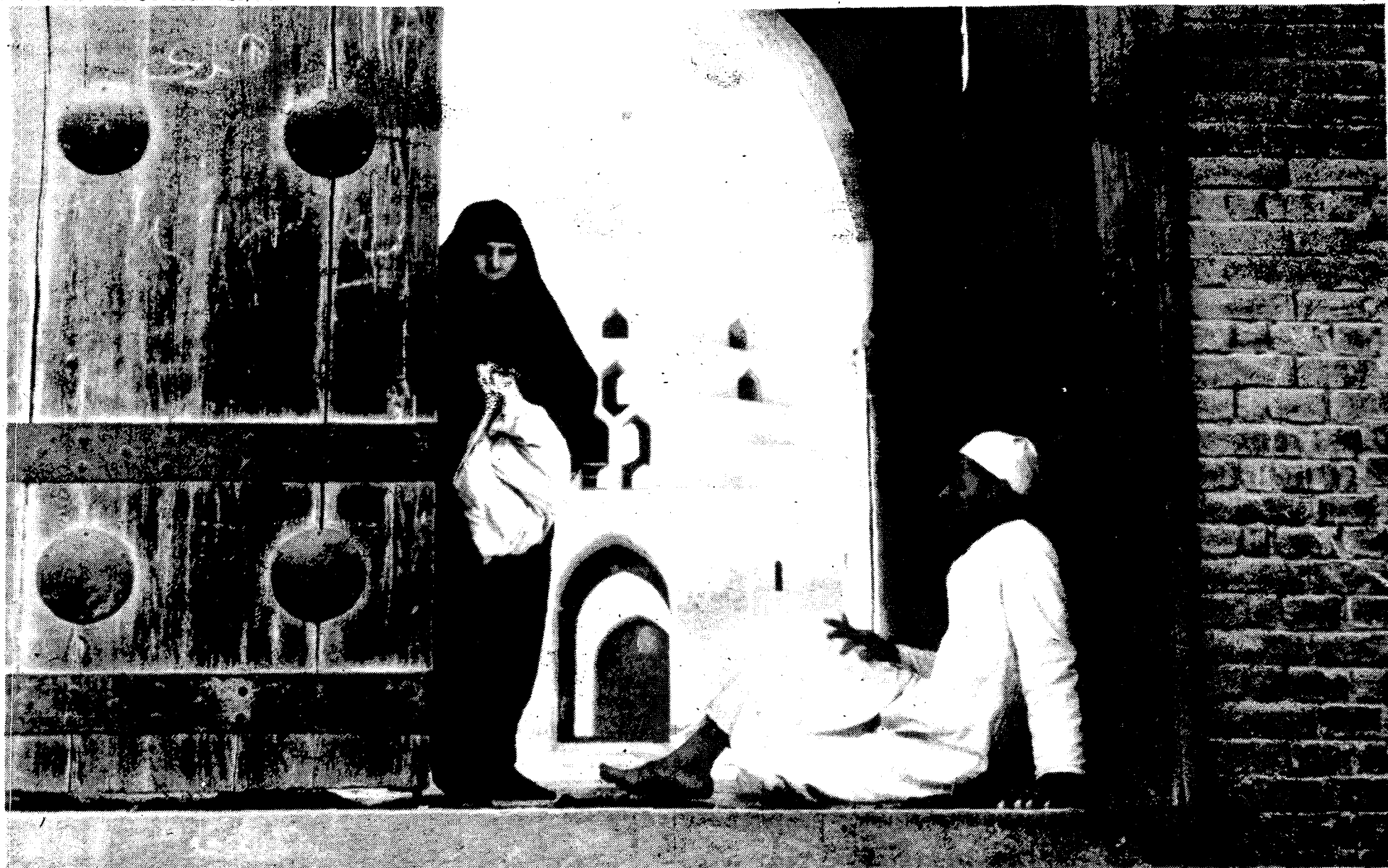
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Diana Johnson

Sadat

Continued from page 3

sedition. They weren't accused of plotting with the KGB until 10 days later."

But the "crucial factor," Mohammed Sid Ahmed explained, was that Camp David is about to be put to the final test. The coming months will show whether or not the Israeli-Egyptian peace will bear fruit, whether or not Israel is going to withdraw from Egyptian territory. "The Peace Treaty includes a tacit agreement that total normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt must be achieved before evacuation of occupied territory. This is a guarantee of the permanence of the arrangement. The government has been scrupulously carrying out the agreement, but Israelis are wondering whether normalization is really happening. And they are right to question. Because it is difficult to expect

the Egyptians to accept normalization with Israel easily when they are required to accept things that do not seem normal at all." Egyptians, said Sid Ahmed, do not feel "normal" about abandoning the Palestinians, about standing by idly "when Israel carries out a pre-emptive attack against another Arab country."

"The concrete problem today is that normalization with Israel as it has actually been carried out—not in theory, as things should be, but as they really are—has required the Egyptians to do violence to their very identity. This is the real problem, and it explains why opposition sprung up in all its various forms."

A bouquet for Begin.

Sid Ahmed said that in his opinion—which, accurate or not, no doubt reflects the thinking of much of Egypt's educated classes—the key to the September repression was "the Israeli ultimatum."

"What happened on the eve of the repression was not the religious troubles. What happened on the eve of the repres-

sion was the meeting between Sadat and Reagan, and the meeting between Sadat and Begin in Alexandria. And I see quite clearly—I don't say I have inside information, but by very plausible deduction—I can clearly see Mr. Begin saying to Mr. Sadat: 'You are encouraging the opposition against normalization. You treat them in an ambiguous way. You tolerate them. You're doing that to set the stage for a return to the Arab world once you get the Sinai back. And therefore I'm going to put you to a test. You must make your choice. Either you make yourself perfectly clear, or the return of the Sinai will not take place.'

Thus the mass arrests were Sadat's way of showing Begin that his attitude was not ambiguous, and that he was ready to crack down on any and all critics of the normalization process. "The consequence, however, is unfortunate," said Sid Ahmed. "For if Mr. Begin had lots of good things to say about the repressive measures that took place, the Israeli chief of staff commented that if it's necessary to arrest so many people, then

we are making peace with Sadat, not with Egypt."

Sid Ahmed recalled that right after the October 1973 war, the peace process took place in the framework of international detente, with the support of the whole range of world powers. "But this process had become more and more reduced to two local parties, Egypt and Israel, and a single superpower, and had become the plaything of American policy towards the Soviet Union. It's impossible to build a regional peace on global cold war. Because when it gets right down to it, in talking about global confrontation with the Soviets, the word 'Soviet' is a code word for local realities. The 'Soviets' are such and such local party, the Syrians or somebody else. And since those local parties are indispensable to peace, it's not peace but quite the opposite."

Sid Ahmed said that until last year, although there was criticism of Sadat's policies, "the political elite considered that, after all, Sadat was a lesser evil." But in 1980, after what happened in Iran, and seeing that the conservative Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia, were not following Sadat's lead, a conservative opposition began to form among prominent men who worried that Sadat's policy was heading for a dead end. They saw the need for a "responsible" opposition, able to talk with the Americans, the Europeans and the rich Arabs, to provide more flexibility in meeting the difficulties they saw coming up. So there was a "convergence of oppositions" taking place. And this explained why Sadat "hit out in all directions: right and left, moderates and extremists, legal and clandestine groups, religious and laic."

Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* reported on Sept. 26 that "ultranationalist Jewish squatters determined to sabotage the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty before allowing the scheduled Israeli withdrawal" are moving into the northern Sinai. The *Post* said that while most of the approximately 4,000 settlers in northern Sinai are prepared to accept grudgingly state compensation and leave, a growing number of militants aligned with the ultranationalist Gush Emunim settlement group, are demanding that Begin abrogate the treaty.

"The Israeli government," the *Post* reported, "seems paralyzed with inaction as more and more treaty opponents dig in for what they call their 'last stand.' The survival of Sadat's policies after Sadat would require a conciliatory spirit toward Egypt on Israel's part that goes beyond what it ever showed toward Sadat when he was alive. This seems unlikely. ■

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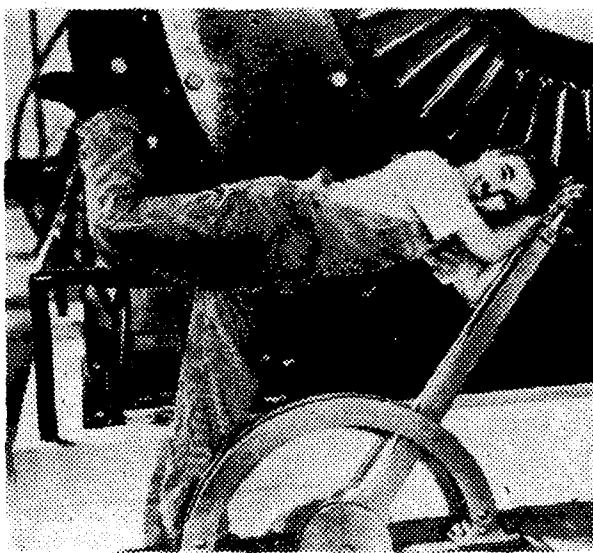
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IRAN

Now only clerics need apply

By Fred Halliday

L O N D O N

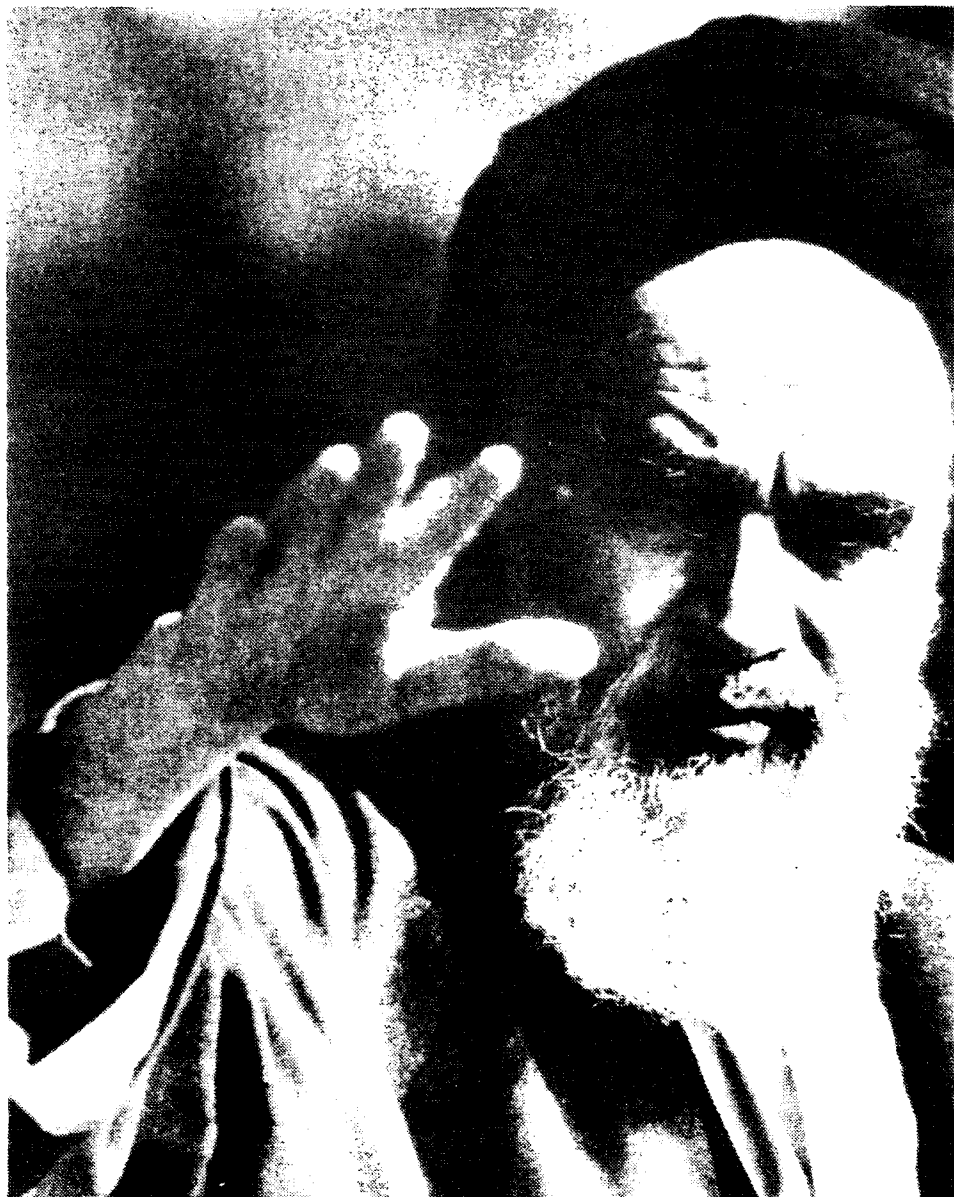
AFTER TWO AND A HALF months of mass executions in Iran—which have claimed the lives of more than 2,000 people—and after attempts by the opposition forces to stage an urban insurrection against the Khomeini regime, a new president has been elected in Iran. Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei, a 41-year-old cleric, embodies the core of the Islamic revolutionary movement; he is the son of a leading cleric in the northeastern pilgrimage town of Mashad, and was a pupil of Ayatollah Khomeini's just prior to the attempted insurrection of 1963 in which Khomeini made his mark as a leading religious opponent of the shah. But while Khomeini was dispatched into exile, Khamenei remained in Iran and was imprisoned at least eight times.

It was people like Khamenei who organized the mass protests that brought down the shah in 1978. When the Ayatollah returned from Paris, Khamenei was appointed to the revolutionary council, the secret executive body set up by Khomeini. There, Khamenei had special responsibility for the armed forces; he was deputy minister of defense and the man in charge of Islamic ideological work within the military. When the war with Iraq broke out in Sept., 1980, Khamenei began visiting the front, and, in military uniform would urge the soldiers to fight against the "infidels" and the "enemies of Islam."

Khamenei has also played an important political role in Teheran itself, where, as leader of the Friday prayers convened in Teheran University, he would spell out the regime's message to the assembled faithful. In conjunction with Ayatollah Beheshti (killed in a bomb explosion in June) and Ayatollah Rafsanjani (now speaker of the Iranian parliament) Khamenei was one of the founders of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP)—the organization that is now in effective control of the Iranian state.

Khamenei was wounded in a bomb explosion in June and has been relatively out of action since; but his emergence as president marks the final departure from the Khomeini government of all those lay Muslim radicals who were so prominent in the early days after the shah's fall. Ex-president Bani Sadr is in exile, defeated by the IRP and thrown out of office by Khomeini. Sadeq Ghotbzadeh, former foreign minister, is in seclusion in North Teheran, and his predecessor in that post, Ibrahim Yazdi, is now a powerless member of parliament. Mostafa Chaim, the minister of defense in the immediate aftermath of the Iraqi attack, is dead—some say as the result of an Iraqi shell, others say as the result of assassination because of his sympathy for Bani Sadr. Mehdi Bazargan, Khomeini's first prime minister, is also a member of the parliament, but he is a broken reed, disowning the other opposition forces yet but unable to offer any substantive resistance to the apparently triumphant forces of the IRP.

Khamenei is one of the Islamic leaders singled out for assassination by the opposition forces. No doubt they will try again to hit him. But if he survives he may well prove to be an effective member of the new clerical leadership that has come into being, drawn exclusively from the IRP ranks. This process reflects a shift in Khomeini's thinking: in the early period the Ayatollah was keen to keep clerics out of top positions. But now that—as he would put it—"Islam is in danger," Khomeini has accepted the full



Ayatollah Khomeini has changed his mind about keeping the Islamic clergy out of top positions.

role of the clergy, and in his recent speeches he has been stressing the importance of the clerics' leadership in the Islamic regime.

Khomeini's own special role in the regime remains unaffected. He is, in constitutional terms, the *Faqih*, or interpreter of divine law, and he still has the willpower and prestige to enforce his will. As the radio repeats every time his name is mentioned, he is, in fact, the "leader of the revolution" and "the father of the Islamic Republic." Yet Khomeini is guiding his followers into establishing a system that may survive his own death for some time. Not only has he aligned himself fully with the IRP, but he has also designated the man who will succeed him as *Faqih*, Ayatollah Montazeri. If Khomeini dies, the regime would certainly lose the symbolic cornerstone on which it has relied so heavily up to now; but it would not mean the whole government would collapse. Indeed, given the arbitrary and disorganized manner in which Khomeini runs his affairs—"like a village mullah sitting in his mosque," as one Asian ambassador described it to me recently—there is reason to think that the regime might run somewhat more efficiently if the Ayatollah was no longer intervening.

Progress on two fronts.

The Islamic regime has received encouragement from some recent developments in both its internal and external wars. Reports from both Iran and Turkey suggest that a relatively successful attack has been launched against Kurdish insurgents in western Iran. The last town held by the Kurds, Bukan, has fallen to Teheran's forces. The Kurds argue that they do not concentrate on holding towns anyway, and they will be able to continue guerrilla activity indefinitely. But they have evidently lost some ground, and it appears that the border with Turkey has

now been sealed.

The Iranians have also scored a victory over the Iraqis, driving them back across the Kaiun River and lifting the siege of Abadan. This does not mean that Iran can now revive full oil exports, or that the Iraqis will be driven out of Iran completely. But this victory—the first by an Iranian army since Nadei Shah sacked Delhi in 1747—has been both a substantive and symbolic victory. It could, if the Iranians

so wish, lead to a negotiated settlement. The Iraqis appear willing to make concessions and to prefer to have the war out of the way before the non-aligned nations conference in Baghdad next year. In an exclusive interview given to me last week, the Iraqi foreign minister, Saadun Han-nadi, said that Iraq was prepared to sit down for negotiations with Iran without any preconditions whatsoever.

These successes, however, may only be palliative in the face of the deep internal problems confronting the Islamic regime. The opposition continues unabated, with demonstrations, bombings and assassinations, and the regime has responded with a terrible brutality, sending more than 2,000 people before the firing squad since the fall of Bani Sadr in June and holding many more in prisons around the country. The real death toll may be much higher than the official numbers.

The main opposition group, the *mujahidin*, has not relented in its campaign and has drawn support from those in secondary schools who have now returned to study with the start of the academic year. Manud Rajadi, the *mujahidin* leader now based in Paris, has called the recent guerrilla actions a "decisive" offensive. But even if they fail to unsettle the regime this time, few doubt that the *mujahidin* guerrillas, who enjoy very wide support, at least among young people, will continue their campaign for a long time to come.

The greatest single problem faced by the regime is the economy. This has steadily eroded the support for Khomeini among all sectors of the population. Iran's oil supplies are overpriced and the regime is finding it difficult to sell more than 500,000 barrels of oil a day, less than the 2,000,000 it wants to sell and much less than the six million sold in the last days of the shah. Some observers suspect that the major Western oil companies (with the encouragement of their governments) are refusing to buy the oil of a regime that was responsible for the hostages and that is deemed incapable of survival in the long run.

Inflation, unemployment, declining production and shortages are plaguing Iran's major cities. At the moment, no force can catalyze the popular discontent, but Iran is a country where politics moves in fits and starts, and at some point an opposition force could take advantage of the regime's many troubles and make a decisive push. Where that force comes from—from the army or from the mosque, from the left or from the right, from the now prominent or the as yet obscure—must be left to the judgment of the future.

Fred Halliday, a fellow of IPS's Transnational Institute and an editor of *MERIP Reports* and *New Left Review*, reports frequently on the Mideast.

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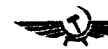
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TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

HONDURAS, ONCE LOOKED UPON AS a backwater banana republic—an overseas possession of the United Fruit Company—has in the past three years been rediscovered by U.S. policy makers looking for a “strategic key” in the fight to contain revolutionary change in Central America. Whether this new-found importance will force Honduras to become an active player in the political conflicts that have already convulsed its three neighbors is a question everyone here is now debating.

“Honduras could become a model for Central America, with free elections, a strong military, a good human rights record and a free-enterprise economy,” says a well-placed U.S. source in the capital city of Tegucigalpa.

“I doubt we’ll make it another two years,” responds a student leader at the National University. “Even if the United States doesn’t seduce the army into a war with Nicaragua or intervention in El Salvador, the poor people of Honduras will not continue to starve peaceably—not when there is now the example of Nicaragua to show what we could achieve through organization.”

Honduras, about the size of Tennessee, is located in the heart of conflict, bordered by Guatemala to the east, El Salvador to the southeast and Nicaragua to the west. The Caribbean north coast is dominated by the banana plantations of Standard Brands and United Brands (known locally as the Tela Railroad Company). The population of 3.2 million is among the poorest in Latin America, with a per capita income of less than \$500 a year. Malnutrition is widespread. Illiteracy stands at more than 50 percent. All this despite cool mountain climates, low population density, productive farmlands and vast untapped natural resources.

The economy has long been dominated by American-based multinationals. Four of the country’s five largest corporations are American. Standard and United Brands alone account for 50 percent of the country’s agro-exports. Despite a modest reform program

development schemes such as the \$600 million hydroelectric project at El Cajon, a \$200 million pulp and paper complex at Olancho and a proposed \$300 million international airport complex north of Tegucigalpa on land owned by president-general Policarpo Paz Garcia.

Elections and helicopters.

Between 1978 and 1980 the United States provided the Honduran government with over \$108 million in economic and military aid. It was looked upon favorably by the Carter administration because of its relatively good human rights record and the announced plans of its military to hold elections and return power to civilians. The Reagan administration continues to support these initiatives but with a greater emphasis on “regional security.”

In April 1980 popular elections were held for a constituent assembly. There was widespread hope at the time that this return to democracy would be the beginning of a process of social and economic reform for the country. Instead, the assembly quickly bogged down in political infighting while the “provisional” government of General Policarpo Paz Garcia continued to carry on business as usual.

For Paz Garcia, business as usual often involves episodes of public drunkenness followed by drying-out periods in New Orleans and elsewhere. Because of his problem with alcoholism (a favorite subject of student editorial cartoonists) many of the major decisions of government are made by a ruling military council of colonels. Among the hardliners who dominate this council are Colonel Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, head of FU-SEP (Forces of Public Security) and Colonel Hubert Bodden, director of DNI (Division of National Investigations).

Yet despite the worries of the hardliners—and after numerous rumors of delay or cancellation of the second round of balloting—it now looks like the army will place Paz Garcia in presidential elections to take place in 1982. “To cancel the elections at this time or rig them in favor of the National Assembly would probably set off the kind



Yes, U.S. policy makers want to make Honduras a model of democratic capitalism in Central America. we have

initiated by the military in 1978, 25 percent of the land remains under the control of 1 percent of the country’s landowners, while 60 percent of the population has to make do on less than 1 percent of the land.

With corruption rampant in the military-controlled government, even the most basic public works have gone undone. While the banana companies built hundreds of miles of plantation railroads along the north coast more than 50 years ago, the first paved road connecting the capital with San Pedro Sula, the country’s major industrial city, was not completed until 1970.

“We’ve waited eight years for a road,” says Father Juan Louis Nado, a missionary priest who helped set up an agricultural cooperative of some 20,000 people in the interior. “Instead of giving us a road the government recently took away the license of the air service that was our only regular link with the outside. Because we’re close to the border with Nicaragua they may have suspected these planes were being used for gun running. What they were being used for was to bring in medical supplies and salt and take out people who were sick. Now we have no link to the outside.”

Despite a declining economy, capital flight and a balance of payments deficit of \$346 million, the military government here continues to promote ambitious

Article and photographs by David Helvarg



Despite their own poverty, Hondurans have welcomed Salvadoran refugees such as these at the border camp of La Virtud.



Refugees force-fed religion

World Vision, a fundamentalist Christian aid organization based in Monrovia, California, has been accused of using refugee relief efforts in Honduras both to proselytize and inform on Salvadoran war refugees.

The specific charges, made by doctors and staff workers from other relief agencies, refugees in two border camps and diplomatic and political sources in the capital of Tegucigalpa, include:

- Constant proselytizing, despite orders by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees that such efforts not be carried out in the camps.

- Intimidation of refugees, including threats of deportation back to El Salvador, which many refugees believe would result in their death.

- Cooperation with the Honduran security forces in the arrest and detention of refugees that in one case may have resulted in three deaths.

World Vision operates on a \$175 million annual budget to provide for the "physical and spiritual needs" of children and refugees in some 80 countries. With project funds channeled through the Credit Swiss bank of Singapore, World Vision maintains a highly professional system of administration, communications and media promotion.

Beginning in July 1980, World Vision became one of five agencies working with the U.N. High Commission on Refugees to provide food, shelter and other services to the more than 20,000 war refugees who have crossed the border from El Salvador and settled into camps and rural communities along the Honduran frontier.

"Right from the start the World Vision began a campaign to drive other relief agencies out and establish an exclusive, pro-government perspective in the work here," complains the director of one of these agencies. "They openly criticized CEDEN [the mainstream Protestant aid organization named by

Vision's got a kind of stool-pigeon reputation," says a highly placed diplomatic source in the capital. "They mix right-wing evangelism with a hard-sell, old-fashioned brand of rice Christianity."

World Vision's director of Evangelism for Latin America, Graciela Esparza, denies that it proselytizes refugees. But the June issue of *World Vision* magazine reports that "Bibles, tracts and personal witnesses have been given to interested people in the La Guarita area," where World Vision administers a refugee food distribution center.

And a report prepared for the church-affiliated Washington Office on Latin America and circulated on Capitol Hill, which is based on interviews with refugees from the La Guarita area, claims that people who failed to participate in worship services had been denied food and that people too sick to work had been threatened with deportation back to El Salvador.

But the most serious charge in the report—confirmed by a Honduran doctor on the scene and by participants in a subsequent closed meeting of the relief agencies and the UN—involves an incident that took place at the Colomoncagua refugee camp last spring.

On the night of May 22 two new Salvadoran refugees arrived in Colomoncagua after the immigration office had closed for the night. Rather than waiting to register them in the morning, the World Vision camp coordinator took them to the local army post, where they were arrested. A short time later the army entered the camp and arrested two other refugees. The World Vision man on the scene failed to report this to the other relief agencies. The following day the Honduran army released one of the refugees and claimed the others had been moved. Several days later the bodies of the three missing refugees were found shot to death on the Salvadoran side of the border.

of mass protests that everyone's been trying to avoid," says a long-time American observer on the scene.

Roberto Suazo Cordova of the Liberal Party is now favored to win over Carlos Zuniga of the pro-military Nationalist Party. Neither of their traditionalist parties have put forward a program for the future, however, and the campaign has been notable for its lack of issues or debate. "Mostly the campaign involves the passing out of matches, key chains and free liquor to the *campesinos*," says the American observer—a fact confirmed by local reporters who've had to follow the candidates on their rounds. The country's small Christian Democratic Party and the more recently formed middle-class PINU (Party of Innovation and Unity) are also fielding candidates. The Patriotic Front, a coalition of the left, though not allowed to stand as a party, is running a number of independent candidates in local elections.

"If the new president isn't able to take some dramatic action to reverse the slippage in the economy within his first six months in office, there's a good chance that the military will come back in to take power, as they've done before," warns a Honduran economist. "On the other hand, if he chooses to fight the corruption that's now a basic part of the government, or tries to cut back on the

military's latest arms spending, then he almost certainly will be overthrown."

While the elections might promote a short-term stability, the military is reinforcing itself for the long run. With \$10.7 million in U.S. military aid earmarked for 1981, the Honduran army has begun expanding its forces from some 18,000 to close to 30,000 troops. New light arms and transport are being brought in from the states, including M-16 rifles, jeeps, trucks and 10 Huey helicopters "on loan" to the Honduran Air Force. In addition, more than 40 U.S. trainers are working with the security forces here, including a dozen Special Forces Green Berets recently brought in to give counterinsurgency training to the 12th Battalion based in Santa Rosa de Copan. Other Green Berets are based near the Salvadoran border refugee camp at La Virtud, where they work with the Mountain Combat Training Battalion out of Intibuca.

Refugees left and right.

According to refugee witnesses, this battalion sent men across the border on Aug. 18, following the guerrilla siege of Perquin in El Salvador's northern department of Morazan. Since a treaty was signed between the governments of El Salvador and Honduras last fall, the two countries' armies have coordinated border

Continued on page 18

the UN to coordinate relief efforts]."

"These refugees are under tremendous pressure. Salvadoran army helicopters buzz the camps. Soldiers and death squads have crossed the border and taken people from the camps. But all World Vision can see are potential converts," says another relief agency administrator.

Solange Muller, a volunteer public health worker who has just completed two months of work at the Colomoncagua refugee camps, reported that "the World Vision relief coordinator used to sit in on my nutrition class. He was always asking the women about their husbands and why there were so few men in the camp. Because many of these people may have family fighting with the guerrillas this kind of questioning can be very intimidating."

"World Vision constantly preaches to the refugees against so-called communist religious workers," says Father Fausto Milla, pastor of the frontier parish of Corquin. Chet Thomas, a long-time activist with the moderate Protestant evangelical Church World Service, corroborates this: "I see World Vision as part of a movement by conservative U.S.-based evangelical groups to undermine the influence of the 'liberation theology' that has taken hold inside the Catholic church."

"There's no question but that World

"This was an unfortunate incident," says Graciela Esparza. "We had an internal investigation and could not reach any clear conclusions. It's hard to come to a definite finding when you're dealing with these kinds of denunciations in a very political context. We're not a political organization. We're apolitical, like the Red Cross."

In addition to its refugee work, the group has a number of other aid projects in Honduras and even bigger operations in El Salvador and Guatemala. In El Salvador, World Vision has 32 full-time employees and a \$2.1 million budget for 1981. Each of its projects—some of which are located in the most active combat zones—keeps extensive records on all aid recipients and files daily reports by telephone and telex with World Vision's office in Costa Rica. Because of its information-gathering capabilities and its close working relationship with the Salvadoran government, World Vision has been accused locally of having links to the CIA. Similar charges were made during the Vietnam war, when World Vision worked with Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees under the sponsorship of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

"I think we're not interested in responding to those kinds of charges," says Graciela Esparza. "It would only lead to more of the same." —D.H.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions express in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TENURE BATTLES

I AM GLAD JOHN JUDIS ADDRESSED "Politics as a factor in tenure battles" (*ITT*, Sept. 23), but after three readings I recognize that he has minimized the number of tenured as well as tenure-seeking faculty people who have been or continue to be victims of campus politics. Judis does not seem fully to appreciate the pervasiveness of the practice of cutting down boat-rocking persons, and seems caught up in "star" consciousness, thus ignoring what campus Marxists might want to do about tenure for radicals and getting that and other issues before the masses. The number of non-stars who have either been denied tenure for spurious reasons, let go for "financial exigencies," or fired after having attained tenure on the grounds of trumped-up charges is much larger than Judis suggests.

Two cases of hope through unity are instructive. The first, Ron Aronson, is a Wayne State University professor, writer and Marxist whose tenure, applied for in 1973 after six years on the faculty, was turned down due to "insufficient" publishing (later it was proven to be political; the charge admittedly meant "wrong" publishing—in Marxist journals). After a long struggle in which he had heroic support from the AAUP president, community groups and individuals, faculty and students, Aronson was victorious and was granted tenure.

Alex Efthim, also of Wayne State, suffered similarly, was supported by the same coalition, and finally won tenure. Such coalition action must be part of the picture when discussing campus Marxists. In the mid-'60s and early '70s the best scholastically-inclined students often tilted left politically and this led to the hiring of token numbers of Marxists.

This led to the graduation of many Marxist-oriented persons who became college professors. Unfortunately, too often much of the energies of these young professors have been spent in a struggle to maintain jobs, achieve tenure, and to protect tenure rights once achieved. The insidious role and goal of university management has never swerved off course—the university does not belong to the people who inhabit it but to the power structure of each state. College administrations continue to insist, despite gestures to the left, that the hearts and minds of students must be largely directed toward preserving and serving the status quo.

Despite my criticism, Judis was often completely on key. But because of *ITT*'s unique spot in this land, its writers should never get caught up in a mainstream that glosses over the hard facts.

—Helen R. Samberg
Detroit, Mich.

TOO OPTIMISTIC

I LIKED JOHN JUDIS' "POLITICS ARE a factor in tenure battles" (*ITT*, Sept. 23), but found it much too optimistic. While it is true that "academic disciplines...have become increasingly open to Marxist and populist ideas," the proportion of the nearly 3,000 American colleges and universities that tolerate active, non-closet Marxists and leftists is small. Closet scholars of this persuasion can survive in academia but those who express their views on campus, with rare exception, not only have dif-

ficulty getting tenure but now are being dismissed even with tenure.

What is new, since the McCarthy era, and should have been dealt with in the article, is the purging of tenured professors who have been involved in social causes. That purging has included more than dismissal. It has, in some cases, included blacklisting, denial of unemployment compensation and defamation. In short, academic assassination.

Three cases come to mind: former tenured professors F.J. Smith, R.M. Frumkin, and C. Stastny. Charles Stastny, an established political scientist, was dismissed from Central Washington University for "insubordination." Suddenly, after 14 years on the faculty, his "collegiality" became questionable. Many of his colleagues never fully forgave him for starting the first chapter of the ACLU in the central Washington hinterlands. His participation in an Israeli conference without full administrative permission constituted his "insubordination" and "just grounds" for dismissal in 1980.

Smith and Frumkin are the only two tenured professors ever dismissed for "cause" in the 71-year history of Kent State University. Smith was dismissed in 1973 and Frumkin in 1975. Smith has been active in organizing a faculty union and Frumkin in the anti-war and civil rights movements. Although each man is an established scholar, both have been blacklisted from professional employment in Ohio. Smith has not had a full-time professional job in the U.S. since his suspension in 1972.

Since Stastny, Smith and Frumkin are in their 50s, and young professors are preferred in the academic marketplace, the academic futures of all three men are bleak.

Like Carl Boggs, Stastny, Smith and Frumkin are "too old and too well-known," now too infamous, to obtain positions commensurate with their abilities. So unlike their younger counterparts, these men and others with similar histories are not in academic purgatory. Unemployed and unemployable, they're already in academic hell.

Even though Stastny, Smith and Frumkin have suffered severe violations of their constitutional rights (free speech, due process, equal protection) and academic rights as set forth by the AAUP (in terms of their principles on academic freedom and tenure), the ACLU and the AAUP have given them little support. Full support has, however, been given them by the Social Activist Professors Defense Foundation (formed in July 1980). The SAPDF has put Central Washington University and Kent State University on its censure list and asked professors to refuse positions at those institutions until such time that the Stastny, Smith and Frumkin cases have been equitably resolved.

—Avi Adnavourin
Ann Arbor, Mich.

OOPS¹⁰

THE INCREASING RADIATION EXPOSURE of nuclear plant workers is noteworthy (*ITT*, Sept. 23). The accompanying calculation of three to 10 cancer deaths, based upon the BEIR Committee report, is correct, but your calculation of hereditary disorders is in error. If 50,000 person-rem's accumulate each year among reactor workers for a 20-year period, there would be as many as 300 (not 3,000) excess hereditary dis-

orders for every 100,000 progeny. However, it would be unlikely for 25,000 workers to have 100,000 progeny. More likely, they would have 25,000 progeny of whom between five and 75 would have serious hereditary disorders. If this continues for 10 generations there will be a gradual rise to a rate of between 60 and 1,100 per 25,000. So in 10 generations further there would be a total of somewhere between 600 and 11,000 (not 1.5 million) such disorders. The risk of hereditary disease is thus similar to that of cancer from radiation exposure.

—Roland A. Finston
Director of Health Physics, Stanford University
Stanford, Calif.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

AS A PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT I GREATLY appreciated the article on the Reagan tax package by John Judis (*ITT*, July 29). It was ironic, however, that Judis pointed out that Representative William Brodhead supported one of the most glaring inequities: the reduction of the maximum tax rate on unearned income to 50 percent. Brodhead is one of our most liberal representatives, according to ratings provided by ADA! A typical "steadfast" liberal.

It is also ironic in view of the fact that during the 1980 electoral campaign your paper didn't call for a vote for even the Citizens Party of Barry Commoner or one of the other left parties rather than advocating abstention or a half-hearted vote for Jimmy Carter. Please forgive me but I sometimes get the impression that some of your writers are more interested in sounding like avant garde "liberals" than of being of real, lasting help to a hurting working class. Perhaps they are only using your newspaper as a training ground for the cold war liberal press as did Walter Lippmann and other lesser lights.

Until such time as you sever your umbilical cord to the Democratic Party, I and many others like me cannot take you or those like Michael Harrington, whom I call the Pied Piper of state capitalism, seriously. Your masthead states you are an independent socialist newspaper. Doesn't socialism work toward a stateless, wageless, classless society based on associations of free producers, or do I read Marx wrong? Those who are trying to co-opt the Democratic Party should review the long and messy record of those who end up co-opted by it!

On a personal note, it doesn't amuse me to read in your help wanted ads that "third world people are encouraged to apply." Revolutionary, outspoken WASPs of the masculine gender have more difficulty securing employment and existing than opportunistic third world people and co-opted females. Some of you should try earning a living and trying to live a normal life in small town mid-America.

—Ronald E. Girkins
Granville, Ohio

PENSION FUNDS

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC issue of the decade is the control of public capital and the control of private and public employee pension funds. Pension funds alone total more than \$650 billion and will reach \$4 trillion by 1995.

In 1978, Randy Barber in *The North Will Rise Again* revealed that employees' deferred wages were not being invested in the best interests of beneficiaries. In fact, traditional fund managers were literally destroying American jobs, exporting capital abroad and losing billions of dollars of employee retirement income in the bond and stock market.

In California, Ed Kirshner, Tamsin Taylor and others as early as 1975 found that retirement income could be increased, employment generated and the economy fundamentally revitalized if pension capital was strategically re-invested within the state.

Gov. Brown in 1980 created a Public Investment Task Force to recommend socially responsible investment guide-

lines and investment vehicles to create employment, expand small and innovative business, housing and alternative energy resource development. The Task Force Interim Report was published in March 1981. The Final Report will soon be published.

Every state and local government, union, non-profit organization, college and church annually invests and deposits literally billions of dollars. Organized labor has recognized the importance of gaining control of their deferred wages to benefit their members. State and local governments have also formed task forces and are beginning to redirect public funds and pension funds to yield maximum benefits to taxpayers.

—John C. Harrington
Chair, Governor's Public Investment Task Force,
Sacramento, Calif.

NOTHING TO FEAR

THE "IN SHORT" ITEM (*ITT*, AUG. 26) that noted the Census Bureau's unwillingness to release figures on the number of gay couples living together, though interesting, contained an oversight. On the 1980 Census questionnaire, the "roommate" and "partner" of the main householder were included in the same category. (In 1970, both were considered to be "unrelated individuals.") Thus, two same-sex roommates are indistinguishable from a gay couple on the basis of their answers to this question. The Census Bureau could release the information on this item with no fears for "embarrassment" or "controversy."

—Elaine Ross
Philadelphia

WHAT ELSE?

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S ARTICLE ON Larzac (*ITT*, Sept. 23) was interesting, but a bit confusing. For example, what merits in the victory can be claimed by the "city Maoists"? Their "methodical survey" to find out why the poor farmers had stayed out of the protest cannot be taken seriously: the survey found that the poor were suspicious because "they always came out on the losing end." What else holds back the poor in every country?

I also cannot see why Mitterrand's keeping an election promise by halting extension of the Larzac camp should be ironic, uncomfortable or even authoritarian. Wasn't Mitterrand elected by the people, including the people of Larzac? And if not by the latter, maybe that's what made them uncomfortable?

Another thing: If the farmers' struggle goes beyond that of preserving farm land to preserving peace in the world, against the arms race and the world's militarization, I do not see why, to their victory celebration, they invited, among all the other foreigners, "Afghan freedom fighters." Surely those proteges of Zia and Reagan and the CIA who are trying to preserve the old feudal order in their country in the name of freedom cannot want to celebrate "the stuff of leftist dreams"?

—Leonore Vellfort
Oakland, Calif.

CORRECTION

The photographs illustrating "Squatters protest housing programs in three U.S. cities" on page six of the previous issue (*ITT*, October 7-13, 1981) should have been credited to Marc Davis. Our sincere apologies to him.

In *These Times* circulation for the week ending Oct. 7, with comparative figures for one year ago:

	Week of Oct. 7	One year ago
Subscriptions	21,538	17,475
Bookstores	2,000	2,600
TOTAL	23,538	20,075

SCHOOLING

Can the link between class and achievement be cut?

This is the second of a series of articles by Norm Fruchter on public schools in the United States. Fruchter's next reports will be on Chicago, Los Angeles and Atlanta schools.

By Norman Fruchter

DR. JERROLD GLASSMAN, Community Superintendent of District 15 in south Brooklyn, New York, feels his district's reading problems are caused by children's backgrounds, the language handicaps and other social limitations that school people have traditionally defined as the causes of school failure. In discussing recent research indicating that many schools do break the link between poor/minority background and poor scholastic achievement, Glassman identified several "instructionally effective" District 15 schools.

P.S. 27.

Steve Rosenthal was the principal of P.S. 27, one of those schools identified as "effective" by Superintendent Glassman. Two years ago Rosenthal took over a school whose test scores were the lowest in the district. Staff morale was crumbling and students were out of control. P.S. 27 is 65 percent black and 35 percent Hispanic; more than 85 percent of its students' families are low-income by the Board's combined AFDC and school-lunch eligibility standards. In two years under Rosenthal's leadership, P.S. 27 has achieved an 11 percent increase in its reading scores, pupil attendance is higher and staff morale has improved.

What did Rosenthal do? First, he brought in what school people call management systems in reading and math. Management systems are integrated teaching programs that provide basic and supplementary texts, teaching aids, curriculum guides and, most important, record keeping devices that enable teachers to test, monitor and evaluate children's progress throughout their school career. In conjunction with his staff, Rosenthal is now introducing a supplementary reading system to reinforce comprehension, and is working on schoolwide science and social science programs that will also reinforce reading. "We're going to saturate our kids with reading; I think we're going to solve the reading problem."

Another innovation ended the fragmentation caused by Title I and state-funded pull-out programs. With seven reading and math labs, at least 70 children were pulled out of class each period. "The place was on wheels. I believe in calm. I wanted to see the chaos ended." Rosenthal and the district's Title I coordinator discovered that federal regulations allow co-mingling of local, state and federal funds when schools exceed 75 percent low-income students. Rosenthal reorganized P.S. 27, using his Title I and state-funded compensatory education lab teachers as classroom teachers, thereby lowering class size to an average of 24 kids per teacher. (Thirty-one students per class is the current norm in New York City.) Using his para-professionals as in-class supporting staff, Rosenthal has produced small-group skills instruction on an eight-to-one ratio in the lower grades.

These innovations have been aided by P.S. 27's involvement with the School Improvement Project (SIP), a city-wide program, based on effective schools research, which assumes that ineffective schools can be improved through a process of assessment, planning and implementation carried out by representatives of the local school community.

The process of school-based assessment, planning and implementation has produced clear results at P.S. 27. Yet al-

most 70 percent of the school's students are still reading below grade. How much improvement can a new principal and a reinvigorated staff achieve? Glassman cautions that "other problems in terms of personnel and parent involvement are less than wholesome," but he hopes that "we can get enough help to break the linkage [between background and achievement] at P.S. 27." (On Sept. 1 Steve Rosenthal became assistant director of the Personnel Computerized Record Systems Office of the New York City Board of Education.)

P.S. 39.

Mike Yermak is the principal of P.S. 39 in south Brooklyn. His school is approximately 50 percent Hispanic, 35 percent white and 15 percent black, and about half low-income. Yermak's test scores

school work. P.S. 39 is more than a hundred years old and serves more than 400 children without a gym, auditorium, lunchroom or library. But these limitations help the school succeed. "Nobody gets lost. Everybody sees everybody. I have no public address system. If I have an important notice, I can get around to every classroom in five minutes. A child who has to go to the bathroom has to walk through three classrooms. We're under such primitive conditions that we all have to help each other."

P.S. 39 exhibits all the characteristics that research indicates instructionally effective schools share: strong leadership; schoolwide commitment to high standards for all children; intensive focus on basic skills instruction; a safe, secure atmosphere conducive to learning; an evaluation system used to diagnose problems and provide whatever support children need. Yermak's insistence that age and size explain his school's success echoes the argument of many schoolpeople who feel our schools have grown so big that they have become unmanageable.

But factors like age, size and neighborhood stability should not draw attention



have consistently led the district; about 65 percent of his students read on or above grade level. Yermak credits his success to both internal policy and external factors. First, the school has consistently held kids back in the early grades, especially first grade, when denial of promotion causes the least emotional damage. Therefore many of his tested students have repeated a grade, are older than their classmates and have benefited from an extra year of schooling. Next, P.S. 39 identifies children whose test results put them a few months below the national average, and targets them for additional aid. These children don't ordinarily receive extra aid because their scores are now low enough to qualify them for Title I or state compensatory education. Yet Yermak feels that if they can be identified early, any slide towards serious skills deficiency can be arrested. Naturally, the additional help raises their test scores.

Yermak sees the age and size of his building as crucial factors making the

away from the internal factors that make P.S. 39 work for a predominantly poor and minority population. The school has served most of these students so well for so long that tradition, reputation, expectation and *esprit de corps* combine to keep success going. As Yermak says, "This school is a happy place."

P.S. 321.

P.S. 321, a neighboring south Brooklyn school, has also registered an 11 percent increase in reading scores during the past two years, and now ranks second in the district, with 60 percent of its students reading at or above grade level. The school is approximately 38 percent Hispanic, 32 percent white and 30 percent black, with a low-income population of about 50 percent, though Bill Casey, the principal, feels that both the low-income and Hispanic population have been falling as the neighborhood becomes increasingly gentrified.

Casey has been using test score results to break down the tracking system he in-

herited. "I kept regrouping the school as the scores increased. As more and more kids' scores put them in the upper band, separating them from each other seemed pointless." Five years ago the school was clearly divided between upper and lower tracks. Now there are only three lower-track classes in the entire school, except for the two Gates classes in next year's fourth grade. The first, second and fifth grades are completely mixed.

Casey shares the criticisms of the Gates program, particularly since he found school chancellor Macchiarola's first grade transitional classes so successful. "Why not take the money and put it into preventive policies instead of remedial policies? I'd like to see pre-kindergarten, all-day kindergartens and small class size in the first grade."

Though Casey feels that the emphasis on test score improvement has produced somewhat artificial gains, he sees a cycle starting at P.S. 321 that feeds on success, and constantly raises expectations as test scores rise.

How much has the linkage between background and achievement been broken at P.S. 321? "Somewhat, but not enough. It's broken down completely in the early grades; we're almost social engineers there." Throughout the school, Casey feels the linkage has been broken for most blacks and second-generation Hispanics. But the school has only limited bilingual resources to meet the needs of those students not yet fluent in English. Aside from those students, Casey thinks his school is helping all students, regardless of background, to master their basic skills.

Focusing on three moderately successful elementary schools gives a distorted sense of education in District 15. Both P.S. 39 and P.S. 321, the district's most effective schools, still have at least 35 percent of their children reading below grade level. Most of these children are low-income Hispanics, blacks and whites. Class and race are still the major determinants of achievement throughout our district, in which three out of every five children read below grade level. Worse, achievement rates tend to lower as children get older; results in our five junior highs and intermediate schools are among the lowest in the district.

Tracking by supposed ability, broken down in many elementary schools, is reasserted at the intermediate level, where students are tracked into separate academic compartments. My own children's intermediate school suffers from ineffective leadership, deteriorating staff morale and a school atmosphere poisoned by disruptions in halls and classrooms, petty harassment, extortion and an increasing class and racial polarization. These characteristics, with all their potential for producing angry kids and frustrated teachers, reach fruition in high school. New York City's high school system is a complex tracking hierarchy that includes several of the nation's best arts and science schools, as well as several community high schools in such chaotic state that two of them, Benjamin Franklin in Harlem and Charles Evans Hughes in Chelsea, have just been closed down for complete reorganization.

Current left analysis defines schooling as a mediating institution linking childhood to the economy. Schools sort, label and socialize children, and help them internalize expectations and self-images as future workers in a highly segmented labor force. District 15's experience indicates that the linkage between poor/minority background and low academic achievement, which usually tracks students into unskilled, low-paid sporadic employment, can be broken. Several elementary schools are demonstrating that when the commitment to quality education for all children is taken seriously, almost all children can, and do, learn. Beyond the elementary schools, the demonstration dims.

Norm Fruchter is Director of the Public Policy Program at St. Peter's College in Jersey City, N.J., on leave this year at Teachers College, Columbia University.

LABOR HISTORY

Labor's dependency on the Democrats began in the '30s



Under the New Deal's National Recovery Administration labor made some gains, but the unorganized industrial workforce did not benefit.

By James R. Green

THE 1930S WERE HEROIC YEARS for the labor movement. The Congress of Industrial Organizations exploded onto the scene when millions of hitherto unorganized production workers mobilized against their employers. Unions won a major victory with the Wagner Act, which created the National Labor Relations Board to supervise union elections and collective bargaining. Decades of neglect of social welfare ended with such New Deal legislation as social security, progressive taxation, and work relief.

These measures were labor's gateway to the New Deal coalitions. Most labor leaders, including most CIO officials and many former socialists, sacrificed political independence to enter the Democratic Party. Although parties on the left vied with the Democrats in state and local elections, enthusiasm for a third party faded after Franklin D. Roosevelt's triumphant re-election to a second term in 1936.

There were obvious gains from entering the New Deal coalition, but what were the losses? The pressures to work inside the Democratic Party proved irresistible to organized labor, but worker insurgency had developed outside it. Did these movements provide the basis for an independent political movement?

Ever since the formation of the New Deal coalition, most big unions like the United Auto Workers have become dependent upon the Democrats. Their leaders have come to fear the kind of rank-and-file insurgency that would be necessary for any viable third party. This has been the case at least since 1936 when Labor's Non-Partisan League was formed, in part, to head off left alternatives to the Democrats at the state and local level. In 1935 these forces won a respectable minority for a national farmer-labor party at the American Federation of Labor's national convention, but nothing came of the effort. Understanding why a farmer-labor party did not form then may help us understand the dilemma working-class voters find themselves in today.

Legacy of the 1920s.

The working-class movement entered the Great Depression with enormous liabilities. The AFL had lost about two million members during the '20s as a result of depression, unemployment, attacks by open shop employers, hostile legislation and anti-union injunctions. The Socialist Party, once influential in the AFL, had collapsed as a result of wartime suppression and the Com-

munist split in 1919. The Communist Party engaged in militant strike activity in the '20s, but it was still a relatively isolated sect when the Depression hit.

Except for a brief flirtation with Senator LaFollette's 1924 Progressive campaign for president, the AFL maintained its old policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, and used its influence to squash further labor party efforts. The AFL's "non-partisanship" in national elections so limited its influence that FDR virtually ignored unions in his 1932 presidential campaign. In retrospect, it is clear that unions came to depend too much on state protection during the New Deal but at the onset of the Depression the AFL "non-partisan" philosophy was a weakness, not a strength.

During the first 100 days of the New Deal Congress enacted a spate of reforms, including protection legislation opposed by the AFL. The National Recovery Act (NRA) gave mild encouragement to collective bargaining under section 7(a) and included codes pointing toward minimum wages and maximum hours. Given the way big business used NRA for its own ends, AFL opposition was understandable, but by opting out of the initial struggle in the political arena, the unions left labor and social legislation largely in the hands of Democratic politicians, not all of them friendly to labor, and to New Deal bureaucrats, many of them social workers. In other words, organized labor had no real program to meet the Depression crisis and found itself largely on the defensive during the first years of the New Deal.

Revolt against NRA, 1933-35.

Not all AFL leaders ignored the pro-labor potential of the NRA. Industrial unions had always been more active than craft unions in seeking state intervention. David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were former socialists who believed in the need for state regulation in their chaotic, depressed industries. John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, though nominally a Republican, also used the NRA to his advantage. All three industrial unions took advantage of the NRA and the disarray of the employers to reorganize themselves in 1933.

In general, though, industrial workers gained little under the NRA and often suffered setbacks. Many employers used the Act to form company unions. The Communist and Socialist parties attacked the NRA as a semi-fascist attempt to save big business through state intervention. While the left attacked the "National Run Around," it also mobilized an effective unemployed workers movement in many cities. The militant tactics adopted by left-led Unemployed Councils helped force the Roosevelt administration to enact direct relief.

Popular electoral movements like Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" clubs and Upton Sinclair's "End Poverty in California" campaign for governor operated to the left of the New Deal within the Democratic Party. On the outside socialists won municipal victories in Bridgeport and Milwaukee, and Floyd Olson won election as governor of Minnesota on a farmer-labor ticket. In some industrial cities, labor party sentiment resurfaced for the first time in a decade. While the Socialist Party adopted a flexible attitude toward farmer-labor parties, the Communists, at first, opposed reform activity of any kind.

Working-class militancy exploded across the country in 1934 when

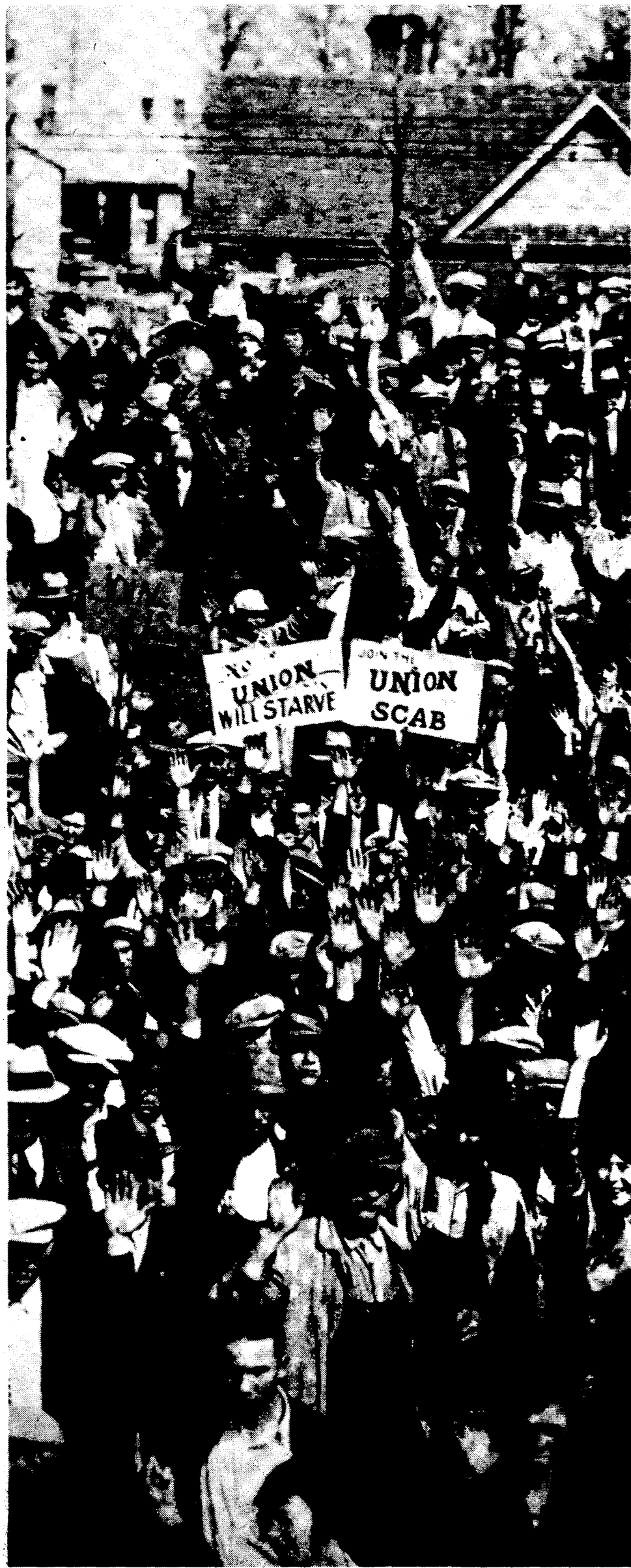
1,470,000 workers engaged in a variety of protests, from general strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco, to a national walkout of nearly 500,000 textile workers from South Carolina to Maine. These strikes reflected increased combativity among unorganized work-

ers, a growing influence of the left, and widespread antagonism toward the NRA and its pro-business codes.

When Democratic governors in 12 states used militia to break the textile workers' desperate strike, strikers became politicized and labor party sentiment grew. Though the Democrats swept the 1934 congressional elections, voters still expressed considerable interest in alternatives to the left of the New Deal. Roosevelt and the Democrats were clearly noticing the growing importance of the labor vote. In Pennsylvania, for example, working-class voters rejected the Republicans in boss-ridden coal and steel towns and helped the Democrats win substantial victories.

The impressive labor vote for liberal Democrats and for more radical candidates convinced Communist Party lead-

In 1934 textile workers like these in Gastonia, N.C., were part of a nationwide wave of strikes.



ers that the traditional party system might be breaking up and that the time was ripe for a farmer-labor party. This change of line conformed to the new "united front from below," in which the CP formed coalitions with socialists and progressives who would aid in the world struggle against war and fascism. By mid-1935 the Popular Front had been adopted as world Communist policy and the CP in the U.S. agitated openly for a labor party within the AFL unions, which they had recently rejoined after abandoning their own Trade Union Unity League. The Socialists, who gave brief support to such a party, found themselves working with the Communists for the first time since 1919.

The New Deal was still unpopular in labor circles early in 1935 because of FDR's refusal to support Sen. Robert Wagner's workers' rights bill. Even after the President changed his mind and signed the Wagner Act in May, distrust lingered. At the AFL convention in October, Francis Gorman of the United Textile Workers led an unsuccessful fight for a labor party, with the support of Socialists, Communists and industrial unionists.

Gorman, who had played key organizing roles in the Southern textile strikes, reminded the delegates that Democratic governors used troops against the 1934

on the Democratic kite." Party building in the 1930s showed that radical politics developed first at the local level where it grew out of specific industrial and community struggles. Without this groundwork, neither the Communists, Socialists, nor farmer-laborites made significant gains.

In any case, the LNPL raised thousands of dollars and mobilized voters for FDR's re-election campaign. The president and New Deal Democrats swept the 1936 election, and farmer-labor parties made poor showings. The Socialists, who enjoyed some resurgence at the polls, were now discouraged about the

tion began to cut back relief jobs and to reduce its commitment to progressive social legislation. But by this time the CIO was already firmly wedded to the Democratic Party. When CIO president John L. Lewis threatened to resign if FDR was nominated for a third term, he was forced to keep his word. Not only had Roosevelt won the support of Lewis' fellow CIO leaders, he had gained the loyalty of millions of CIO rank-and-filers, despite the limitations of the New Deal. Southern reactionaries and other conservatives gained strength in the Democratic Party, but most union workers loyally

labor party movement during the 1930s, when the CIO was consolidating its strength, might have put far more working people in public office.

As it was, labor reformers attempted to represent workers within the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party or the left wing of the Republican Party. Some radical, pro-labor politicians, like Vito Marcantonio of New York, faithfully represented socially-conscious unionism within the Democratic Party. But by the late '30s, most New Deal politicians could take the labor vote for granted. FDR's popularity, the emphasis on lob-



President Roosevelt did an about-face in 1936 to win CIO support for his reelection that year.

strikers. He also declared that the textile workers' standard of living had actually decreased under the NRA. "We looked with what now seems to us to be naive faith to the proponents of a 'New Deal'—believing, I guess, that it meant a New Deal for labor as well as industry," Gorman told the convention. "We have been sorely disappointed."

FDR harnesses the labor vote.

FDR's popularity increased in 1935. He was relieved of the NRA albatross in May, when it was declared unconstitutional. His support for the Wagner Act, social security and other progressive measures of the "second New Deal" solidified his support among organized labor.

Political independents continued to win support in 1936, but efforts to form a national labor party in 1934 and 1936 failed, partly because of the reticence of the Socialists and the Communists' shifting commitment to the idea. Both left parties favored a farmer-labor formation, but they also had their own partisan interests to protect. When the United Mine Workers, the key force behind the CIO, endorsed FDR for a second term early in 1936, Norman Thomas and other farmer-laborites were discouraged.

John L. Lewis, who headed the UMW and the CIO, believed the new industrial unions needed the support, or at least the neutrality, of the president and Democratic officeholders. Lewis had fought bitterly with leftists and labor party supporters in the 1920s and he retained some of the old AFL reservations about entering politics. He also reflected an old syndicalist tradition in the American labor movement that emphasized union-building and placed little faith in partisan campaigning.

In the summer of 1936, Lewis formed Labor's Non-Partisan League (LNPL) to build labor support for Roosevelt's re-election. The LNPL also created the American Labor Party in New York to win support for FDR, without having to ask workers, especially socialists, to vote for the conservative Tammany Hall Democrats running for other offices. The LNPL did not, however, encourage the formation of labor parties in other states. In fact, in Massachusetts its leaders helped head off a fairly strong movement for a state farmer-labor party, and many suspected that the LNPL was, as Norman Thomas charged, no more than "a committee for Roosevelt" and a "tail

chances for a farmer-labor party. But the Communist party believed the results of the 1936 election showed a sharpening of class lines in American politics. Its leaders stated that the time was now ripe for a multi-class third party in which the CP could participate without losing its identity. The CIO's expulsion from the AFL in 1936 and its victories in rubber, auto, steel, meatpacking, electrical manufacturing and other industries seemed to provide the social base for a new party, the kind of base once afforded to the old Socialist party by the first industrial unions of miners, brewers and clothing workers.

This prognosis proved incorrect for several reasons:

1) The Socialists and Communists, who had supported farmer-labor party activity, contributed little after the 1936 election. The Socialist party was rent by faction fights, and hurt by the loss of New York needle trade unionists to the ALP. The Communist party adopted a much weaker stance toward a farmer-labor party in 1937; its leaders were more anxious to gain a foothold in the CIO to advance the Popular Front against fascism than they were in building a socialist electoral alternative.

2) The CIO developed after the initial period of farmer-labor activity, and later third party efforts had to buck the strong CIO-Democratic alliance.

3) The Democrats made the most of the situation. Without making great concessions to organized labor, they won the support of CIO officials on the basis of FDR's belated support for the Wagner Act and the sore need for friendly or neutral office holders in strike situations.

For example, in the great Flint sit-down strike of 1937 that allowed the UAW to win recognition at General Motors, FDR and Michigan's New Deal Governor Frank Murphy refused GM's call for troops to evict the strikers. Had either man ordered troops to evict the sit-downers, political history might have taken a different turn. Labor party sentiment, already on the rise in the UAW, might have been hard to resist. Instead, UAW leaders, preoccupied with building their union, joined other CIO officials in developing a working relationship with professional politicians in the Democratic party.

In 1937 the New Deal encountered further problems as unemployment shot back up, the conservatives gained in Congress, and the Roosevelt administra-

tion began to cut back relief jobs and to reduce its commitment to progressive social legislation. But by this time the CIO was already firmly wedded to the Democratic Party. When CIO president John L. Lewis threatened to resign if FDR was nominated for a third term, he was forced to keep his word. Not only had Roosevelt won the support of Lewis' fellow CIO leaders, he had gained the loyalty of millions of CIO rank-and-filers, despite the limitations of the New Deal. Southern reactionaries and other conservatives gained strength in the Democratic Party, but most union workers loyally

What did organized labor and the working class generally gain by giving such massive support to Roosevelt and the Democrats? One argument is that labor support in 1936 helped push the New Deal further to the left. In fact, most of the progressive legislation of the New Deal, notably the Wagner Act, and direct work relief, came before the CIO entered politics. These reforms were more the product of mass unrest and direct action in militant strikes and demonstrations than of electoral activity.

Another view is that after 1936 the Democratic Party became a surrogate labor party. After the CIO gave organized support to the Democrats, it gained more influence in the Roosevelt administration, but in fact few union members actually took positions in Washington, and when several, like Sidney Hillman, did enter the government during the war mobilization, they played second fiddle to businessmen and bureaucrats.

Important political changes did occur at the state and local levels during the 1930s. The victory of pro-CIO candidates in scores of Republican-controlled industrial cities throughout the land was an important development. In some cases, these candidates were workers themselves, but in most cases they were Democratic politicians who promised to represent workers. A stronger farmer-

The sitdown strikes at General Motors led to the success of the UAW.

bying Congress legislation, and the need for support from local Democratic officeholders made it difficult for unionized workers to choose political independence.

Still, the labor movement could have used its newly acquired political power more effectively. A unified left might have created a viable farmer-labor party, but such an effort would have required the Communists and Socialists to put aside their own partisan ambitions. Alternatively, the labor movement might have supported FDR without allowing itself to be thoroughly incorporated into the party, which still represented bankers, industrialists, small businessmen and Southern planters as well as workers. If the LNPL had encouraged and supported the formation of groups similar to the New York state American Labor Party, there would have been a left alternative to the conservative and opportunistic Democratic politicians.

Instead, as the Democratic Party moved to the right and actually took anti-labor positions, unions lacked any independent electoral or organizational base from which to challenge the Party from the inside or from the outside. ■ *James R. Green's most recent book is The World of the Worker: Labor in Twentieth Century America. Series edited by Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley. ©1981 by Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley.*

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PERSPECTIVES

Provos' support not based on program

By Jack Kurt Jacobsen

AS THE IMPASSE OF THE ghastly H-Block hunger strike mangled on, British politicians were acutely embarrassed again in August by the Fermanagh-South Tyrone election when Owen Carron, the "Prisoners' Candidate," won the Westminster seat "vacated" by the late Bobby Sands. The stunning elections of two more hunger strikers, Paddy Agnew and the late Kieran Doherty, to the Irish Republic's parliament last June likewise testified to the international media that the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the splinter Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) attract more support than British authorities would like their global audience to believe.

These results utterly scuttled years of painstaking efforts by British propagandists to depict the Northern Irish conflict as merely if gruesomely an "internal security problem" created by terrorists who enjoy no more popular support than did the imbecilic band who kidnapped Patty Hearst. But United Kingdom electorates do not make a practice of selecting "common criminals" as their representatives—well, not too common anyway.

Whatever the price in suffering, the Provos apparently are triumphing in the propaganda war. Yet though the obliteration of the "security image" is welcome, the virtual canonization of the

Provos is not.

British politicians are partially justified in considering the Fermanagh-South Tyrone elections a "special case." The border area is neatly divided between Protestant Unionists and Catholics of Republican leanings. The H-Block Committee could hardly have chosen a more promising terrain in which to promote their candidates. Owen Garron, for example, urged the Catholic community to vote for him, because "whatever our differences, we are all agreed on opposition to Unionist intransigence and discrimination." The H-Block Committee carefully emphasized that a vote for their candidates only signaled sympathy for the plight of the hunger strikers, not an endorsement of the Provisional IRA military campaign. Above all, the elections repudiated a blunderingly oppressive "criminalization" policy imposed by British governments since the ignominious collapse of the 1974 power-sharing experiment.

The hunger strike exemplifies for most the Colonel Blimp fixation of insensitive policy-makers. "The major reason why the issue cannot now be resolved is that the British government does not now feel it necessary to resolve it," Gerry Adams, vice president of Provisional Sinn Féin, accurately asserted. "If they decriminalize the prisoners, their whole thrust in this country is put into question."

But the Provos, as the old '60s refrain goes, are staunchly part of the problem, not the solution, in British Ulster. After a border campaign fizzled in 1962, the IRA reappraised itself as well as partition,

"went Marxist," sold off its weapons, and quite sincerely participated in the late '60s civil rights movement which, in effect, demanded full "British rights for British citizens." Reeling under violent reactions, the IRA rearmed to defend the Catholic ghettos. As the British army began to mimic the behavior of the disbanded B-Specials, the ancient war revived.

By 1970 the "provisionals" had broken away from the "Official IRA" because the latter were (1) unwilling to embark upon a fresh campaign to unite Ireland at any cost, (2) recognized and even preferred the path of parliamentary reformism, and (3) professed the alien ideology of socialism. (The official IRA called a cease-fire in March 1972 and ever since has condemned—and even exchanged gunfire with—the Provos for conducting a futile sectarian war.)

But neither IRA appeals to most Northern Catholics who support the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which does indeed want the troops out, new power-sharing arrangements and a united Ireland only when the Protestant majority is willing to chance it. Formed in 1970 as a mainly middle-class Catholic but nonsectarian party, the SDLP gained support in Catholic ghettos throughout the decade as the inevitable atrocities of a guerrilla war mounted. (As one grisly example, 12 people were burned to death when a Provo firebomb exploded prematurely during a dance in a County Down hotel in 1978.) But a nonsectarian political party is placed at a certain disadvantage versus extremist groups when no parliament exists in which effectively to operate. In the May 1981 local elections, the Official Unionists won 151 seats, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party took 142 (a gain of 68 seats!), SDLP 103 seats, the nonsectarian but mainly Protestant Alliance Party 38, and minor parties and groups a handful each. Choking in the political vacuum, the SDLP had dropped 10 seats and the Alliance Party a staggering 38 seats from their 1977 performance. Only Paisley and the Provos are profiting from Britain's retreat since the mid-'70s from the political battleground to a purely military one—where the British enjoy even less luck.

Though hard-pressed, the Provos reorganized in the late '70s into small "active service units," which a British military document judged to be virtually "impenetrable" and militarily more effective. The Provos are prepared to wage their war for decades or, as a brigadier general noted, until the British troop presence ends. In line with the "long haul" strategy, vice president Gerry Adams (a professed socialist) announced at the 1980 Provisional Sinn Féin Annual Convention the necessity to build "a diversified struggle on many fronts" and so urged a deeper organizational involvement in the formerly disdained "secondary" issues of poverty, housing and unemployment.

While it is okay these days for a Provo to be a republican-socialist (but not a Marxist), the Provos are only beginning to come to grips with the political implications and consequences attending a British troop withdrawal—whenever it happens. Despite socialist stirrings in the political organization, the military wing calls the shots. The Provisional IRA implacably maintains its lethal fetish for Irish unity no matter what one million Northern Protestants—with their own ferocious paramilitary organizations—may say.

For that matter, merry visions of a united Ireland do not enchant most Northern Catholics either. While a poll conducted by the South's Economic and Social Research Institute (cited in the *In These Times* "Letters," June 17) did indicate that 42 percent of citizens surveyed in the Irish Republic endorsed IRA goals and 21 percent supported IRA methods as well, the poll also disclosed that a hearty 39 percent of Northern Catholics preferred—at present—to remain in the U.K. under, of course, a reformed and credible political framework. This "unpatriotic" preference isn't all that mysterious. Although Northern Ireland has the lowest standard of living, highest unemployment and high-

est cost of living of any region in the United Kingdom, the Northern Irish standard of living is still 20 percent higher than that of the Irish Republic—even allowing for Thatcher's public budget butchery. (The Irish Republic is busy deflating, too.)

Room for political maneuvering toward an "intermediate solution" exists if only a British government would be determined to exploit it. A June *Sunday Times* poll indicated that "power-sharing within the U.K. with an Assembly and guarantees for Catholics" is supported by 62 percent of Catholics and strongly opposed by only 10 percent of Protestants. Forsaking Paisley, the Ulster Defence Association—the major Protestant paramilitary counterpart to the IRA—devised and proposed its own scheme for a "Federal Ulster" featuring a bill of rights, and safeguards for Catholics—and urged a phased withdrawal of the British army.



Instead of exploring common ground, the Tories seem to prefer to watch caskets lowered into it.

Instead of exploring the potential common ground, the Tories are content to watch caskets be lowered into it. Explaining the SDLP's decision to stand down in the highly charged Fermanagh-South Tyrone elections, John Hume said it reflected "the present situation in the community arising out of the contempt shown by the British government for the views of the electorate." That contempt combined with a total Ulster unemployment rate now nearing 20 percent (multiplied by two or three in most Catholic areas) can clone the Provos many times over. But the Tories evidently will never learn to stop teaching the Irish a lesson.

The British Labour Party appears at last to be freeing itself from the bi-partisan quagmire of Northern Irish policy and promises to be poised—if elected outright—to launch a firm and fundamental political initiative. The grim question is whether Labour, under even the most favorable electoral circumstances, will be able to undo all the damage the Tories will do in the meantime.



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LIFE IN THE U.S.

BUSINESS

Managers are the main reason for poor productivity

By Josh Martin

AMERICA IS FACING AN unusual productivity crisis, costing businesses and organizations billions of dollars every year. American managers, once known as the world's efficiency experts, are now the world's most notorious time wasters. Corporate misuse of executive and managerial talent is causing major dislocations in our economic system.

Simply put, management is paid too much for too little work. In 1980, administrative offices cost business over \$800 billion. Of this figure, managers and professionals were paid \$500 billion—more than double all other office costs, including salaries for clerical staff and costs for office space. Yet, while these managers enjoy high salaries and benefits, increasing 10 to 15 percent a year, their productivity remains low.

During the 1970s, factory worker productivity soared 80 percent but white collar productivity rose a mere 4 percent. Why? Poor allocation of rewards and resources. On average, business invested \$25,000 to \$40,000 for each factory worker; the white collar counterpart was lucky to receive one-tenth that amount. Clearly, executives understate their own role in the productivity of their organizations, failing to demand the same degree of efficiency in an office as on a factory floor. More importantly, office planners have not adjusted to, or come to terms with, new communication and information demands of a service-oriented economy.

Note in the eye.

Company executives have long blamed their subordinates for the drop in productivity. Many executives cite low productivity figures to justify stands against unions, worker pay increases and improved benefits packages. These executives have won their battle but lost the war to increase productivity. Real salaries and wages for average Americans have declined almost 20 percent in the past decade; unions have been locked out of numerous shops; and the Reagan administration is working hard to eliminate health and safety regulations. But these developments have failed to halt the decline in American rates of productivity.

According to a report prepared last year for the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, output per person-hour grew 3.44 percent annually from 1947 to 1966; from 1966 to 1973 it grew only 2.15 percent annually; more recently, the output rate of growth has been less than 1 percent. This decline isn't the result of technological change and changes in the most regulated segments of the economy, communications and manufacturing, consistently outpace the national productivity average. Rather, it is the result of technological change and changes in economies of scale—two areas where management must take credit, or blame, for its decisions.

American managers have been obsessed with company size rather than functions and products. This is particularly evident in the latest round of merger mania on Wall Street. None of the companies involved are merging to increase

productivity. The new corporate entities make sense only when profits are considered. But the long term price for these short term profits is very high: funds spent on mergers are denied to product development and job creation. The mergers have absorbed money that would ordinarily be spent to increase or to improve production.

Who benefits? Not workers; as was shown, they take home less pay now than they did 10 years ago. Not consumers; less productivity means they pay more for goods and services. The chief beneficiaries of mergers have been merger company executives and stockholders (who are often one and the same).

In our service-oriented economy, productivity increases are linked to improved service. This necessarily requires efficient management, and demands for efficiency grow with scale. Unfortunately, management structures in most large corporations are incapable of making the necessary, timely decisions to improve the services they provide. Executives are swamped with more information than they can handle, but reject the changes needed to solve their problems.

American multinationals have been criticized for corruption and greed, but their real failure is that they are inefficient. Far more unwieldy than the often maligned government bureaucracy, our large corporations suffer a growing surplus of overpaid, underworked executives. That's why Japanese and European businessmen no longer look to the U.S. for managerial expertise. We are the only country in the world where a decline in productivity coincides with increases in the numbers of executives and the size of their compensation packages. We reward poor performance.

While other jobs are eliminated or automated, managers are becoming more bureaucratized.

As the white collar workforce has grown (both in relative and absolute terms), this group creates a demand for information. When was an order shipped? What were last month's sales? What are a firm's policy options? The demand for information simultaneously creates a demand for communication. "Take a letter." "Let's call a meeting for Thursday." "I'll phone the sales office." And before you know it, an executive is talked into an information overload.

Such talk isn't cheap, particularly for the company executive. He or she spends roughly half of each working day in meetings or conferences. Another 25 percent of each work day is taken up with less productive or even disruptive activities. This represents an incredible waste of white-collar time; as little as a quarter of a manager's time is spent "working." That is: developing, analyzing or executing company policies.

According to a study conducted by Booz, Allen & Hamilton, New York-based management consultants, "wasteful" office activities cost American business as much as \$300 billion a year. That is double our total investment in research and development, and the cost is rising steadily. Harvey Poppel, a direc-

tor of Booz, Allen's Worldwide Systems Practice division, says mounting demands on managers and professionals, and the impact of information, could easily push white collar compensation to \$1.35 trillion by 1990. Over the next 10 years, misuses of management resources could cost American businesses more than \$5 trillion.

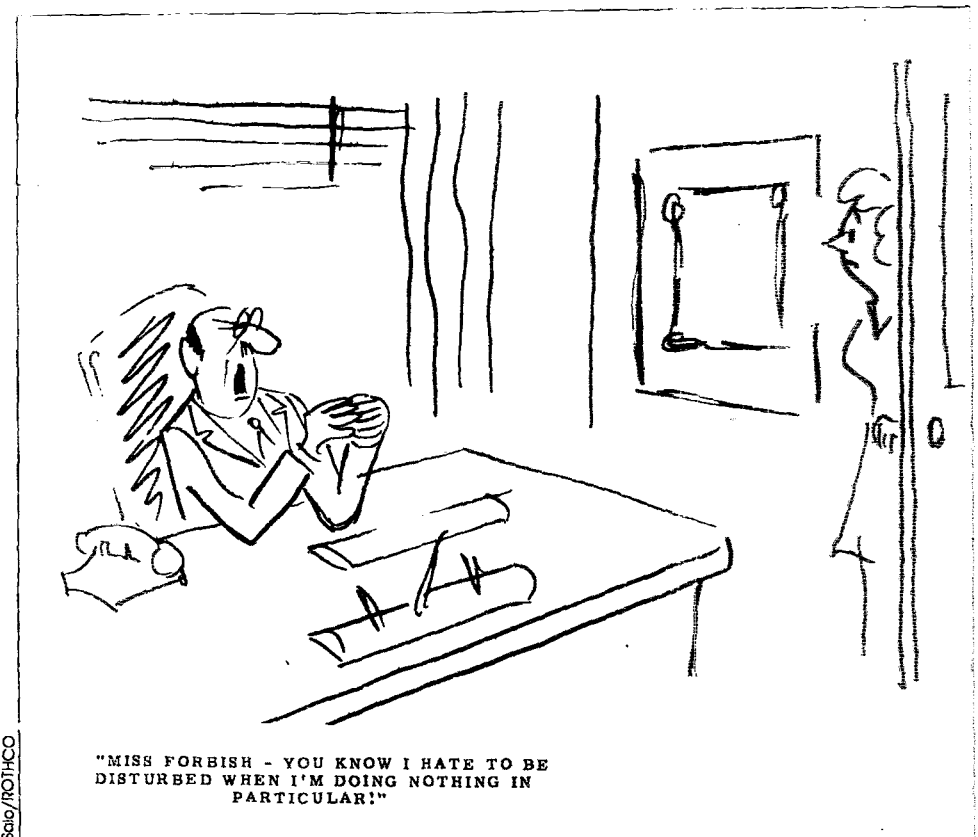
No simple solution.

There are no simple solutions to management's productivity problems. However there are some areas where improvements can be made. So much of an executive's time is needlessly consumed because office communication and information systems are archaic. Although manufacturers have long realized the importance of automated, computerized production, few have applied the rules of the assembly line to their own offices. Office automation—the process of integrating computer technology into the office environment—could cut business' operating costs 15 percent or more, simply by improving the flow of information.

Unfortunately, executives have usually

However, executives fear the appearance of a computer terminal at their desk, thinking that any keyboard there might reduce their executive status ("Help! I'm becoming a secretary!"). More important, they worry that the office automation industry, largely an outgrowth of the computer industry, is too new, too experimental. Who, after all, wants to buy equipment that may be obsolete or unusable before it can even be depreciated? Finally, there is force of habit. The automated office is different from the familiar office with its secretarial pool, voluminous file cabinets and stacks of reports and memos on every desk. It is an office that hums with little electronic boxes creating, storing and transmitting information. Despite the risks and uncertainties, office automation is the way of the future.

Nevertheless, no one is going to consider office automation—or the productivity it can boost—without motivation. In the case of management, this could be achieved by making them more accountable within their companies. One of the shocking truths of American corporate practices, as Lester Thurow noted in *The*



Zero-Sum Society, is that "nowhere in the world is it easier to lay off workers." While workers are laid off, managers are paid up. Generally, no matter how bad or unproductive management is, companies go bankrupt before executives' salaries are cut. Companies should link pay to performance for management as well as employees. Executive dismissals are rare; more often than not, the unproductive executive simply isn't advanced, or gets transferred like a diplomat to a less sensitive or less prestigious post. Some economists call this "upward failure."

Consider what happened at Chrysler: despite Chrysler president Lee Iacocca's much-publicized rejection of a salary until his company turned a profit, executive salaries were one of the last areas considered during budgetary pruning. On a percentage basis, far fewer executives received pay cuts than did workers, although management bore a heavy responsibility for Chrysler's fiscal crunch. With massive government loans and a public relations blitz, inefficient management has survived to err another day.

Robber Barons survived by being the fittest; their corporate successors justify their stewardships claiming efficiency. But by their own standards, most of these executives are neither efficient nor fit. They commit the worst of corporate sins: they are unproductive.

Josh Martin is a New York writer specializing in economic issues. His work has appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Institutional Investor*, *Computer Decisions*, *Collector-Investor* and other publications.

Zionism

Continued from page 20

even a newspaper in the Palestinian territories presenting the true aspects of democracy for the Palestinian people.... To discuss the Middle East problem with intellectuals from Israel and intellectuals from Palestine who don't live in Palestine doesn't mean anything.

Still, are you optimistic?

No, actually I'm not. In the long run, I believe that democracy and peace will come to the Middle East. In the short run, I am not optimistic because I think that a war is being built up, and you know how a war comes about: both parties think that they are going to win the war. So Arafat and Syria with the help of the Soviet Union are building up their armies, and Israel and the Reagan administration are building up their armies. And the peoples of Palestine and Israel are going to pay for it.

What concrete actions can liberals in the diaspora take?

Always, the first step is to be outspoken, which means to denounce the Begin government, the religiously intolerant Orthodox, and the reactionary sectors of Israel who dream of expelling the Palestinians from the West Bank. This is why they are building new cities and settlements. They dream of a way with Syria to take over Lebanon and expel the Palestinians from the West Bank.

On the other hand, liberals should also denounce the P.L.O. and the Palestinian leaders who, in a sense, are guilty of the same thing, dreaming of a war to destroy Israel with the help of Syria, Iraq, and the Soviet Union. They don't care about democracy. They don't care about the sufferings of the Palestinian people. They are destroying Lebanon in a way that was never dreamed. We must denounce both sides. The P.L.O. is a terrorist organization. To say that they have reasons not to recognize Israel is an exercise in semantics. It is the only so-called liberation movement in history that claims it is going to destroy another people. To say it is only a tactic is meaningless. It is not a tactic. We all know the Zionist state is a Jewish state where Israelis live and want to stay. To say that anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism is a lie. It is like saying there is a difference between authoritarian and totalitarian governments—another adventure in semantics.

In your book, you raise the question: Will the position of the Jew ever change? Wasn't the creation of the State of Israel supposed to change the position of the Jew in the world?

From Herzl through the creation of Israel in 1948 many Zionists believed that Jews throughout the diaspora would be

helped. And yet it seems that your experience, the Argentine experience, dispels that belief somewhat.

The Zionist idea was to create a Jewish state. But Zionism was a pluralistic movement. Zionists like Ben-Zion Borokhov asserted that Zionism could be socialist. He believed that after the Jewish state was created there would be a movement of the Jewish masses to Israel. He believed there would be an avalanche of people to Israel, that the poor Jewish masses of Russia and Poland, that all the Jews of the world would go to their own country.

There were many interpretations of Zionism. Some thought that the Jewish state would create a new kind of spiritual life, the center of spirituality in the world. Socialists thought that it would be an example for the socialist movement in the world—the pioneers in the kibbutzim were very unusual, and their experience was very beautiful as a way of life.

Zionists had different opinions on the way Israel would affect the lives of Jews in the diaspora. But now we must recognize that it has no influence at all. Not from a spiritual point of view. Not from a political point of view. It is not central to the life of the diaspora. The Jewish diaspora has its own life and the presence of Israel is absolutely marginal. I am not talking about the Jewish institutions. I am talking about the Jewish people in the diaspora who are not particularly attached to the Jewish institutions.

What will happen in the future is difficult to predict. But who would have dreamed that this Socialist state, built by the pioneers in Israel who had clear ideas of what a worker is, would after 30 years have a government led by Begin?

You raise a very disturbing point. The Holocaust could occur again even though Israel does exist. It could occur in Argentina; it could occur in the Soviet Union; it could occur in other countries.

Yes. Perhaps in the United States. Who knows.

I was struck by the absence of references to God in your book.

I was never religious. I am not an observant Jew, I am a political Jew. The Jewish people should normalize their relations with history, and this is only through political means. There is no other way. And I think that this normalization should be made through a Jewish state because this is the only political instrument for a people involved in history. I don't see what God has to do with it.

How would you describe yourself religiously?

I was always much more attracted by religion than by God. I am attracted to religion as a discipline of thought. I am attracted by the philosophers and writers—Catholic, Protestant and Jew—who write about religion. I am attracted to their dis-

cussions of abstractions and reality, feelings and reality, beliefs and reality. So my relation to religion is academic.

When I was still free in Argentina, I was asked if I go to synagogue. I said: "Yes, I go every morning. Every morning at seven there is a general in the army who takes my newspaper and reads it and says 'this Jew son-of-a-bitch.' This is my way to go every day to a synagogue."

What are you presently working on?

A book of reflections on my personal encounter with Israel. Not a political discussion about Israel or Zionism but about my feelings: New feelings about being a Jew in Israel. Sometimes I say that I am still a Jewish refugee in the country of Israel.

Jews in the U.S. feel that they are Americans. But there is always somebody who will say they are not. Maybe only one, but somebody in Skokie or Alabama. But in Israel it is not possible. No one will say you are not part of the state, and this is very strange for a Jew like myself who has been fighting all his life for egalitarian society in a totalitarian state like Argentina.

My life has been a kind of permanent fight for identity and freedom. Suddenly, the fight, the struggle, doesn't exist any more. This produces strange feelings.

I am also trying to understand what Israel is going to become. It's a book of reflections.

Many of those issues have concerned people who have gone to Israel. If being a Jew means being in opposition to society and suddenly you are no longer in opposition, then what does it mean to be a Jew? What does it mean to be a Jew when there is no struggle for Jewish identity?

After a person is released from prison after three, four or five years, instead of needing people, you need isolation. After torture, after years in prison you are afraid of people and you need some kind of isolation. The same thing happens with someone who has had a psychiatric illness. He is afraid of being normal. At least with his neurosis he is familiar—even though he suffers.

Something similar happens with the Jews. To be an Israeli is a new beginning. Painful for us and very easy for the children who are born there. Once you are not fighting to be equal to the others there is a vacuum. Some people can cope; others prefer to go back to prison or to their neurosis.

Much of the creativity and accomplish-

ments of the Jewish people have taken place in societies where Jews are oppressed. Will such creativity exist in Israel?

Of course, only in Israel there are policemen, army officers, and other occupations that in the diaspora are done only by goyim. Jews are everything from thieves to professors in universities. We may not have as many writers or as many singers as in the diaspora but we have a state.

Sometimes, I think my strongest feelings about Israel concern a political ambition—the ambition to have a state. To have generals, to have a university, to have a language, to have people that are born there and say "this is mine."

Did you think about going to Israel before you were arrested?

A hundred times. What is a Zionist otherwise?

Why didn't you then?

When I was young I had a ticket; I was going to a kibbutz. Then I met a girl and we married and had children, and I had a job, then another child, and then a bigger job. We were going to go every year. We discussed for 20 years when the right moment would be. We are human beings. Decisions are not made by a cabinet after discussions using maps and statistics.

But when I had to decide where to live I chose Israel. After I was in prison I could have gone to many countries. I was invited by France, by the United States, by Sweden, by Spain. I had offers to organize newspapers in Mexico and Venezuela.

Some people smear me, saying: "Oh some Zionist, he only went to live in Israel after he was expelled from Argentina." But that is ridiculous. The Zionists never go to Israel. The point is my decision now which is to be in Israel.

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John S. Friedman is a freelance writer who has written for many publications including the New York Times, The Nation and the Washington Journalism Review.

Helvarg

Continued from page 11

der security operations in an attempt to contain Salvadoran guerrillas. Salvadoran troops swept through parts of Honduras in July and a number of eyewitness reports suggest that Honduran military has started picking up "counterinsurgen-

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November 6-7

Community or Chaos: Western International Conference on Economic Dislocation, the massive industrial, labor and capital shifts. Bringing together labor, religious, community and university groups. Barry Bluestone, Bennett Harrison, Luisa Maria Rivera, Derek Shearer, Harley Shaiken. For registration information (213) 747-1522, Planning Office, 514 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90007.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

October 19

There will be a benefit concert for INFAC/ Nestle Boycott campaign with Gil Scott Heron and Dave Valentin. At the Riverview Club at 7:00 and 10:00 p.m. Tickets are \$10.00 from INFAC, 1701 University S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55405. (612) 331-2333.

November 9-13

The Citizen Heritage Center will sponsor "Reclaiming Our Culture and History," an in-

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November 6-8

"Building the New Student Movement: Issues and Strategies for the '80s." A conference presented by Students for Economic Democracy, featuring Gloria Steinem, Howard Zinn, Tom Hayden, and Kirkpatrick Sale. \$10 pre-registration, \$15 at door. Mail to: SED, 2021 Adonis Way, Carmichael, CA 95825. For more information: Tessa Rouverol, (415) 540-7405.

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October 24

"Mir Kumen On" a film (in Yiddish with English narration) about the Medem Sanatorium, a unique institution for children run by the Jewish Labor Bund in Poland. With a discussion and guest speaker afterward. Sponsored by Medem Jewish Socialist Group. At 7:30 p.m. at the N.Y. Marxist School, 151 W. 19th St., NYC. For information, call (212) 535-0850. \$2.00 donation.

November 8

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cy experience" on the Salvadoran side of the border. "The Honduran army isn't interested in getting involved in El Salvador," insists that well-placed American source in the capital. "All they're doing is lining up on the border in order to prevent the guys in the green pajamas from coming in here and using this country like it was kleenex."

While building up forces on the Salvadoran border, the Honduran military has also fought a series of skirmishes with the Sandinista Popular Army of Nicaragua along its eastern border and on the waters of the Gulf of Fonseca.

Over the last year-and-a-half, the Nicaraguans have strengthened their regular army and trained a popular militia of some 60,000 in order to defend themselves against a feared U.S.-backed Bay-of-Pigs-style invasion using Somocista exiles and/or the Honduran Army.

Border tensions between Honduras and Nicaragua—which had reached a fever pitch this spring—have now calmed down some thanks to the efforts of moderate elements in the Honduran military council who feared a full-scale clash might jeopardize both U.S. support and domestic stability. In early September frontier negotiations were opened between Honduran and Sandinista army commandantes.

Among the issues the Sandinistas wish to discuss is the presence of Somocista

military camps in Honduras. The ex-guardsmen, organized into a number of competing groups with names like the Revolutionary Army (ANDRE) and the Special Forces Anti-Communist Guerrillas (FESGAS), have been raiding northern Nicaragua from camps in El Paraiso and Choluteca with the unstated approval of the Honduran military. The recent arrival of 2,000 Mosquito refugees from the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua has provided a fresh recruiting ground for the Somocistas, who are reported to have set up a new camp and a radio tower near Puerto Limpera on the remote northeastern coastal savannah of Gracias A Dios.

"It's funny how the U.S. Agency for International Development is so anxious to fly in food for these 2,000 disgruntled Nicaraguans—many of whom are able-bodied males—while they wash their hands of the thousands of women and children war refugees from El Salvador," complains a relief worker with one of the international agencies operating in Honduras.

Despite their own poverty, most Hondurans have been generous and helpful toward the Salvadoran and, more recently, Guatemalan refugees who have begun arriving in their country. But there is open hostility toward the Nicaraguan exiles, who are popularly blamed for the increased number of bank robberies and

kidnappings for ransom that have taken place in the past year. The Sept. 3 murder of a Tegucigalpa socialite by an ex-Somocista national guardsman made sensational headlines in all the country's papers. And some local activists also worry about the ex-guardsmen's "corrupting effect" on the internal security forces of Honduras. While mild compared to their counterparts in Guatemala and El Salvador, the internal security forces, FUSEP and DNI, have been implicated in a growing number of "incidents" in the last year, including the disappearance of 14 members of two Salvadoran families and the killing of Fidel Martiez and Tomas Nativi, two leaders of the Popular Revolutionary Union (URP).

While Honduras does not have a significant guerrilla movement of its own, it does have some of the most highly organized trade union and peasant organizations in Central America: The 16,000 union workers on the banana plantations have become increasingly politicized in recent months despite efforts by both the company and the local arm of AFL-CIO sponsored AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development) office to prevent "Marxist infiltration"; the United Workers Federation claims to have the power to stage a general strike should the elections be cancelled; and the National Association of Honduran Farmers—along with the more militant Na-

tional Farmers Union—represents more than 100,000 organized peasants who have had practice in armed land seizures in the early days of the agrarian reform. The National University has more than 30,000 students on a campus decked out in the red and black colors of the Sandinista revolution. Many opposition figures also speak confidently of "honest and progressive elements in the army," young officers who "write with their left hand."

While no one is predicting revolution in the next year many activists do believe they have the strength to prevent Honduras from becoming part of a U.S. strategy of military containment aimed at Nicaragua and the guerrilla movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. A number of popular organizations are participating in a newly formed "National Council for Peace" established in September with university rector Juan Almeyda as council president. "We don't want military aid from the United States in our country," he explains. "We don't want advisors of death. We want aid for the development of our people and respect for our neighbors. We Hondurans are a peaceful people. We don't need North American forces here. Their situation violates our serenity, our dignity and our ability to choose our own destiny."

David Helvarg is on assignment for *In These Times* in Central America.

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"But I don't feel guilty."



By John
S. Friedman

JACOBO TIMERMAN, THE EDITOR and publisher of the Buenos Aires newspaper, *La Opinion*, was arrested in 1977 by an extremist faction of the Argentine army after his newspaper had attacked the government, the military and terrorist gangs for their lawless activities. With no charges brought against him, Timerman was held captive for 30 months. He was tortured and interrogated about his participation in Zionist organizations and his loyalty to Argentina to which he had come as a child.

Following a worldwide campaign for his freedom, he was released from jail in 1979, stripped of his citizenship and expelled from Argentina. His best-selling book, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, describes his experiences.

A resident of Israel, Timerman was recently in Washington, along with the Maryknoll Sisters, to receive the Fifth Annual Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Award from the Institute for Policy Studies.

Your book has received a lot of attention. Since it was published, you have continued to speak out. What effect have your words had on the Argentinian government?

It's very difficult to measure. The situation in Argentina is influenced by thousands of big and little actions from all

over the world. To measure the influence of my book is practically impossible.

Its influence has been in maintaining world attention on Argentina, especially in the United States. This has been a blow for the Argentine armed forces. They thought the Reagan administration was going to give them the chance to cover all their crimes. But not even the Reagan administration can bring the Argentine dictatorship back to Western civilization. I think my book, which is going to appear in 14 countries, presented the situation in an important way. For fascist dictatorships world public opinion is important because of the pressure on them from many directions. And the book reminds them that nothing is going to be forgotten or forgiven.

What I say in my book is not new. Everybody in Argentina knows it. The press is not publishing it but that doesn't mean that people don't know what is going on.

The situation has changed in Argentina for specific reasons—an economic collapse, labor unions that are beginning to fight back, political parties that are organizing themselves, the families of the missing who are demanding to know their children's fate.

Everything has an influence: a U.S. Senator's statement, an article in a newspaper.

You've been an eloquent witness to the conditions in Argentina. I am curious about your attitude toward Israel. What happens when the ideals you write about in your book conflict? For instance, what do you do when Zionism conflicts with the struggle for human rights? It concerns me and many other American Jews who are committed to Israel that Israel sells arms to Argentina, that Israel trades with South Africa.

I don't know why liberal Jews in the United States feel so guilty about the Jewish state being reactionary. The Jewish state has the same right as any other state to be reactionary. I don't feel guilty about it, although I fight against it. I am against selling arms to Argentina. I am against trading with South Africa.

I do whatever I can for democracy and peace in Israel. I was involved in the elec-

tion campaign against Prime Minister Begin. But I don't feel guilty. This strange psychological disadvantage of the Jewish liberals in the U.S., I really don't understand. Once I said to a group of liberal Jews in New York that if Israel becomes a fascist country it is very easy for me as an Israeli: I live there, and I am going to fight against it. What are you going to do? You are going to think: Why is a Jewish state fascist? Why not? I don't see any reason why it shouldn't be fascist. I am against it but it has nothing to do with Judaism.

People ask me: You are a fighter for human rights, how do you feel living in Israel? I feel the same way people feel who live in London or Paris.

I wonder if this liberal guilt prevents Jews in the diaspora from criticizing Israel, from trying to change Israel.

It works in two different ways. For some Jews it is very difficult to speak openly about Israel. For other Jews, it is very difficult to speak openly about the P.L.O. So both are compromised because they have a guilty conscience, and they are paralyzed politically.

The liberal Jews feel guilty about reactionary generals or the fact that Begin is prime minister but that doesn't justify the fact that the P.L.O. is an instrument of terror and an instrument to avoid peace with Israel.

Other Jews are so afraid that something might happen to Israel that they use the notion of a new Holocaust to justify anything that the reactionary sectors of Israel do. I am not in one position or the other. I am a liberal Israeli. I only feel guilty about what I do. I am responsible for my acts.

The P.L.O. and Begin are partners in trying to stop an agreement between the people of Palestine and the people of Israel. I am fighting for such an agreement,

and I am not the only one. Thousands of people in Israel are trying to build a bridge between the Palestinians and Israel.

I would like to be able to talk openly to Palestinians but they are afraid of the P.L.O.

How can a rapprochement between the Israelis and Palestinians be achieved?

Real changes depend on a country's own people. There are many ways foreigners can help but the major decisions are always in the hands of a country's own people. If the Palestinians could build up some kind of democratic movement in their own territory it would be much easier for the democratic political parties and sectors in Israel. But if the Palestinians are unable to produce their own democratic revolution, it is very difficult for us to help them. The democratic groups in Israel, not the army, not the government, not the reactionary groups, are doing whatever we can. But we are also suffering. Israeli citizens are suffering a lot from the military paranoia of the Begin government and its religious intolerance. We struggle in our fight but we don't see any help coming from the Palestinians. When they say: "We are afraid of the P.L.O.; they might kill us"—this is not an argument. Of course they might. But in every struggle, in every fight, people are killed. But we don't find one important sector of Palestinian life ready to risk everything against the terrorist movement of the P.L.O.

Of course, there have been secret meetings over the years....

Masturbation. I cannot call them anything else. These meetings have nothing to do with reality. They consist of individuals who like to be in meetings. Such meetings have no influence. There is not

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